

The Franciscan Educational Conference

VOL. XVIII

DECEMBER, 1936

No. 18

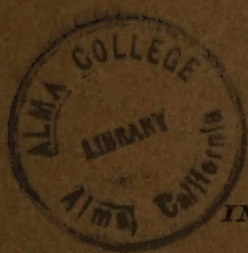
FRANCISCAN HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

REPORT OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 2—4, 1936

Pat H. Brady



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

PUBLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE

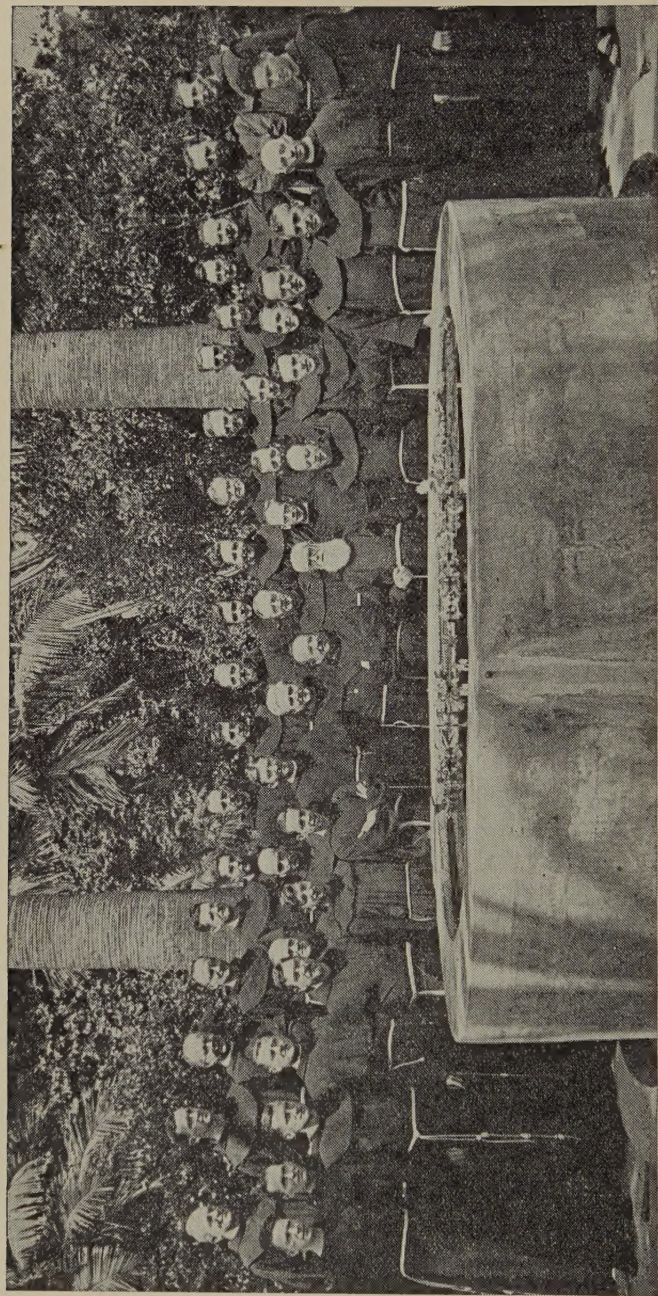
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Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, Santa Barbara, Calif., Aug. 2-4, 1936

LEFT TO RIGHT—BOTTOM ROW: 1. David Temple, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 2. Norbert Zona, Granby, Mass.; 3. Claude Vogel (Secretary), Washington, D. C.; 4. Leonard Bacigalupo, Lowell, Mass.; 5. Donald Shearer, Washington, D. C.; 6. Turbius Deaver, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 7. Sebastian Brennan, Solvang, Calif.; 8. Marion Habig (Editor, *Franciscan Studies*), Washington, D. C.; 9. Harold Blake, Calicoon, N. Y.; 10. Donald Gander, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 11. Ferdinand Ortiz, Santa Barbara, Calif.

SECOND ROW: 1. Gerald Ryan, San Luis Rey, Calif.; 2. Bertrand Hobrecht, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 3. Ronald Scott, Asheville, N. C.; 4. Ambrose Pocke, Green Bay, Wis.; 5. Mark Nolan, Rensselaer, N. Y.; 6. Albert O'Brien, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; 7. Thomas Plasmann (President), St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; 8. Mathias Schneiders, Pismo Beach, Calif.; 9. Baldwin Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; 10. Herbert Patterson, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 11. Alfred Boeddicker, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 12. Daniel Lutz, Staten Island, N. Y.; 13. Damian Lyons, Santa Barbara, Calif.

THIRD ROW: 1. Louis Schoen, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 2. John Wuest, Cincinnati, O.; 3. Constant Klein, Carlsbad, New Mex.; 4. Casimir Stec, Burlington, Wis.; 5. Felix Pudlowski, Ft. Yuma, Calif.; 6. Seraph Zeitz, Cincinnati, O.; 7. Cuthbert Gumbiner, Garrison, N. Y.; 8. Joseph Thompson, Los Angeles, Calif.; 9. Theodore Roemer, Mt. Calvary, Wis.; 10. Oliver Murray, New York, N. Y.; 11. Owen Silva, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 12. Bonaventure Oblasser, Topawa, Ariz.; 13. Maynard Geiger, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 14. Juvenal Berens, Cincinnati, O.; 15. Seraphin Muller, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 16. Patrick Roddy, Santa Barbara, Calif.; 17. Aloysius M. Costa, Lowell, Mass.; 18. Cornelius Hyland, Solvang, Calif.; 19. Hugh Radigan, Washington, D. C.

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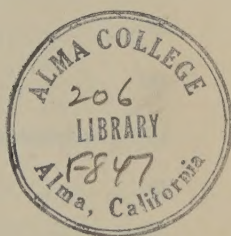
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Vol. XXIII
1951-1952

FRANCISCAN HISTORY OF
NORTH AMERICA

REPORT OF THE EIGHTEENTH

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

1951-1952

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REV. CLAUDE VOGEL, O.M.Cap.

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OF THE

Franciscan Educational Conference

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Franciscan Educational Conference

Adopted at the final meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, St. Louis, Mo., July 2, 1919.

ARTICLE I

NAME AND OBJECT

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be: "The Franciscan Educational Conference."

SECTION 2. The general object of this Conference shall be to safeguard the principles and to promote the interests of Catholic Education.

SECTION 3. The particular object shall be:

- a) To encourage the spirit of mutual helpfulness and coöperation among the Friar educators of the American provinces;
- b) To advance by study and discussion the Franciscan educational work in all its departments;
- c) To offer means and incentives toward the advancement of learning and the pursuits of literary work among the Friars.

ARTICLE II

DEPARTMENTS

SECTION 1. The Conference shall consist of three departments: The Classical, the Philosophical, and the Theological Department.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS AND THEIR ELECTION

SECTION 1. The Officers of the Conference shall be a President, a Vice-President, and a Secretary.

SECTION 2. These officers shall be elected separately, by secret ballot, in the last session of each convention, a simple majority deciding the successful candidate. If, after two ballots, no election has been effected, the two having the greatest number of votes, shall be the exclusive candidates in the third ballot. In case two candidates receive an equal number of votes, the senior Friar shall have the preference.

ARTICLE IV

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The President shall preside at all the meetings of the Conference and of the Executive Board.

SECTION 2. The Vice-President shall preside at these meetings in the absence of the President.

SECTION 3. The Secretary shall record and keep all matters pertaining to the Conference. He shall make due announcement of meetings and make the necessary preparation for them. He shall finish all the business of the previous meeting.

ARTICLE V

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

SECTION 1. The three officers aforementioned shall ex officio constitute an Executive Board.

SECTION 2. The Executive Board shall have the management of the affairs of the Conference. It shall be invested with power to make the regulations regarding the writing, reading, and publishing of the papers of the Conference meetings.

SECTION 3. It shall interpret the Constitution, By-Laws, and Regulations of the Conference, and, in matters of dispute, its decision shall be final. It shall also have the power to appoint the various committees of the Conference.

SECTION 4. The outgoing officers shall finish all the business of the previous convention.

ARTICLE VI

CONVENTIONS

SECTION 1. The Conference shall convene at such time, place and interval as may be determined by the Very Rev. Provincials in their annual meeting.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority vote in any general session of the Conference, provided such amendment has been presented in writing and announced in a previous general session.

ARTICLE VIII

BY-LAWS

SECTION 1. By-Laws which are not inconsistent with this Constitution may be adopted by a majority vote in any general session of the Conference.

AMENDMENT

The Executive Board shall consist of the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary. The aforementioned officers, in turn, shall designate as associate officers one member from each Province affiliated to the Conference, and not yet represented on the Executive Board.

AMENDMENT

On the occasion of the Annual Conference there shall be at least one Executive Session of the Executive Board and of the associate officers. In case anyone of them is absent, the senior member of his Province or Commissariat shall have his place and vote.

AMENDMENT

The Executive Board shall be augmented by one more member, *viz.*, a Secretary for Franciscan Literature. He shall act as Chairman on the Committee for Franciscan Literature at the Conference and, under the direction and with the authority of the Executive Board, shall promote and edit the "Franciscan Studies."

AMENDMENT

In order to insure the continuity, efficiency and a more active representation of the Franciscan Educational Conference, the election of officers shall proceed as follows:

The three branches of the Order shall be represented on the Executive Board on the basis of the number of Provinces affiliated, i. e., two officers shall be chosen from the Friars Minor (with nine affiliated Provinces), one from the Minor Capuchins (with five affiliated Provinces), and one from the Minor Conventuals (with four affiliated Provinces).

The election shall be preceded by nomination and free discussion from the floor.

No one shall be elected who has not attended at least one previous Meeting of the Conference.

All officers shall serve at least two years, and not more than two new officers shall be elected each year.

FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

FIRST SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, August 2, 1936, 8.00 p. m.

The first session of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference was called by the Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., President of the Conference, on August 2, 1936, at 8.00 p. m., in the auditorium of St. Anthony's Seminary, Santa Barbara, California.

There were present: Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Very Rev. Turibius Deaver, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Very Rev. Louis Schoen, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Very Rev. Ferdinand Ortiz, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Seraphin Muller, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Alfred Boeddeker, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Damian Lyons, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Patrick Roddy, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Owen Silva, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Donald Gander, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. David Temple, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Herbert Patterson, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Brice Moran, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Otto Stauble, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Antonio Durantini, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Marion Habig, O.F.M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Oliver Murray, O.F.M., New York, N. Y.; Rev. Ambrose Pocek, O.F.M., Green Bay, Wis.; Rev. Mark Nolan, O.M.C., Rensselaer, N. Y.; Rev. Daniel Lutz, O.M.C., Staten Island, N. Y.; Rev. Joseph Thompson, O.F.M., Los Angeles, Calif.; Rev. Juvenal Berens, O.F.M., Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Hugh Radigan, O.F.M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Harold Blake, O.F.M., Callicoon, N. Y.; Rev. Aloysius M. Costa, O.F.M., Lowell, Mass.; Rev. Leonard Bacigalupo, O.F.M., Lowell, Mass.; Rev. Mathias Schnieders, O.M.C., Pismo Beach, Calif.; Rev. Gerald Ryan, O.F.M., San Luis Rey, Calif.; Rev. Donald Shearer, O.M.Cap., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Norbert Zonca, O.M.C., Granby, Mass.; Rev. Seraph Zeitz, O.F.M., Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Bonaventure Oblasser,

O.F.M., Topawa, Ariz.; Rev. Constant Klein, O.M.C., Carlstad, New Mex.; Rev. Baldwin Schulte, O.F.M., Detroit, Mich.; Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.M.Cap., Garrison, N. Y.; Rev. John Wuest, O.F.M., Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., Mount Calvary, Wis.; Rev. Casimir Stec, O.F.M., Burlington, Wis.; Rev. Felix Pudlowski, O.F.M., Ft. Yuma, Ariz.; Rev. Albert O'Brien, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Rev. Cornelius Hyland, O.M.Cap., Solvang, Calif.; Rev. Sebastian Brennan, O.M.Cap., Solvang, Calif.; Rev. Joseph Fenelon, O.M.Cap., Roseburg, Oregon; Rev. Adrian Sharkey, O.M.Cap., Los Angeles, Calif.; Rev. Fintan Crowley, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Rev. Ronan Kerstoff, O.F.M., E. Rutherford, N. J.; Rev. Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., Washington, D. C.

On behalf of the Friars of Santa Barbara, the Very Rev. Turibius Deaver, O.F.M., Guardian of the local friary, welcomed the delegates to the Franciscan hospitality of the Golden West. "We have yearned for many years," he said, "to be hosts to this historic gathering. At times we have even grown impatient of delay. But now that the honor is ours we are intent on but one thing and that is, to make your stay in Santa Barbara as enjoyable and as profitable as possible." To these heartfelt words the President replied:

"The prospect of our meeting in California has been long before us and if for many years we have been prevented, it was owing to circumstances beyond our control. But now that our dream is realized, our happiness is complete. Indeed, the joy that we now feel seems more supernatural than natural. The towering hills, the sweet-scented flowers, the cool breezes of a peaceful ocean and, of course, the smiling faces and glad hand of the brethren, all seem to be heaven's way of extending to us enthusiastic welcome.

Our subject for this Meeting is Franciscan History of North America. What place more logical to treat this subject than California, the very heart of Franciscanism in the United States? Practically all of the old Missions still stand, if not in flourishing condition at least in their ruins speaking perhaps more eloquently of sacrifice and heroism. All honor and gratitude to the Franciscan Padres, the pioneers of the Order in California! In truth, none are greater than these brown-robed friars who came here and amidst hardship untold have built up the country both spiritually

and materially. Fortunate, indeed, are we, lectors and teachers, missionaries and pastors, to tread this hallowed ground, to marvel at a blessed past, to reap inspiration and courage, and to sing the glories of our fellow-friars of yesteryear. We trust that, as sequel to these days of study and deliberation, a synthethic survey, fair and just to Franciscan achievement, will be added to the shelves of history."

The secretary now rose to read the letters from several dignitaries of both Church and State who took kindly notice of the Friars' Conference. The first was a telegram which His Excellency John J. Cantwell, Archbishop of Los Angeles, had sent to the Rev. Louis Schoen, O.F.M., Rector of the Seminary.

August 2, 1936.

I am glad to learn that members of your distinguished Order are having their Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. I take pleasure in wishing you every success in your deliberations and I sincerely hope that much good will result from the study of your interesting topic.

JOHN J. CANTWELL, D.D.,
Ordinary of Los Angeles.

The next was a letter from the Very Rev. Novatus Benzing, O.F.M., Provincial of the Province of Santa Barbara:

OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL
133 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco, California

Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M.,
President, Franciscan Educational Conference,
Santa Barbara, California.

Very Rev. and dear Father:

It affords me much pleasure, indeed, to send greetings to the Franciscan Educational Conference in session within the shadows of the venerable and historic Mission of Santa Barbara.

My hearty welcome to the Province of Santa Barbara for this year's sessions was extended to the Conference's secretary several months ago. To the present greeting I wish to add the assurance of a fervent prayer for the success of the meeting. The topic is one that must receive additional inspiration from the surroundings of a Franciscan Mission so hallowed as that of Santa Barbara.

With sentiments of deep respect for your own good self and for the members of the Conference, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

NOVATUS BENZING, O.F.M.,
Provincial.

The Mayor also sent cordial greetings:

CITY OF SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
Office of the Mayor

Franciscan Educational Conference,
St. Anthony's Seminary,
Santa Barbara, California.

Reverend Fathers:

The Mayor, representing the City of Santa Barbara, extends greetings and best wishes for a successful meeting of your Conference. The ground trod so many years ago by your worthy predecessors renders it especially fitting that you meet in our City.

It is my sincere hope that your stay here will be as pleasant as possible and may I assure you that the Mayor's office will be open to any of you who may find time to call there.

With best wishes for a successful meeting, I remain,

Yours most cordially,

E. O. HANSON, Mayor.

A letter from Justice Westwick, Judge of the Superior Court:

COURT HOUSE
Santa Barbara, California

Franciscan Educational Conference,
St. Anthony's Seminary,
Santa Barbara, California.

Reverend Fathers:

May I extend my heartiest congratulations to each of you, on the occasion of your Conference at Santa Barbara?

I join with many thousands of my fellow-townsmen in wishing you success in your efforts to perpetuate the records and history of the Franciscan pioneer Fathers in America.

With all good wishes, I am

Very truly,

ATWELL WESTWICK,
Judge of the Superior Court.

The President in charge of Santa Barbara's Fiesta of August 5-8 extends the friars a cordial invitation to witness the commemoration of "Old Spanish Days":

SANTA BARBARA
Fiesta of "Old Spanish Days"

The Rev. Louis Schoen, O.F.M.,
St. Anthony's Seminary,
Santa Barbara, California.

Dear Reverend Father:

Please extend our greetings to the members of the Franciscan Educational Conference. We are happy that the friars have come to Santa Barbara to

hold their Eighteenth Annual Meeting, for California is the land of the Franciscan Padres.

With true Spanish hospitality we invite the members of the Conference to take part in our Fiesta and to add by their presence the real Franciscan touch to our celebration. Furthermore, on behalf of the County of Santa Barbara and our Board of Supervisors, I extend greetings and best wishes for a successful meeting.

Trusting the friars will enjoy their stay in Santa Barbara, I remain,

Yours truly,

SAM J. STANWOOD,
President, "Old Spanish Days,"
Supervisor of Second District.

The President in the name of the Conference expressed gratitude for these kindly notices. He then proposed the sending of the following cable to the Most Reverend Bede Hess, O.M.C., former Vice-President of the Conference, now Minister General of the Friars Minor Conventual:

The Franciscan Educational Conference assembled in Santa Barbara tenders to you, its former Vice-President and zealous Promoter of true Franciscanism, Fraternal greetings and congratulations.

The motion carried unanimously.

The Secretary now submitted his report. The minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting were adopted as printed in the published *Report* and a vote of thanks was tendered the Secretary. Twelve hundred and fifty copies of the *Report* of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting were printed and approximately nine hundred copies were distributed either among the friars or among others interested in our work. The total income, including the Provincial contributions and the sales of the *Report* and of the *Franciscan Studies* amounted to \$1,607.24. The expenses, chiefly for postage and for printing the *Report* and four numbers of the *Franciscan Studies* were \$1,558.73. On July 1, 1936, the Conference had on hand \$415.06.

There followed the report on the *Franciscan Studies*. The Rev. Marion Habig, O.F.M., Editor of the *Franciscan Studies*, announced that four new numbers had been published during the year. Of previous issues, Numbers 3, 5 and 8 are now out of print, but of the rest, according to the latest report of the publisher, the following number of copies are still on hand:

No. 1	205	Copies	No. 11	82	Copies
" 2	429	"	" 12	80	"
" 4	27	"	" 13	137	"
" 6	459	"	" 14	213	"
" 7	44	"	" 15	8	"
" 9	101	"	" 16	175	"
" 10	94	"	" 17	Recently published	
			" 18	"	"

Of numbers 14-18, the Editor sent out some thirty or forty review copies as they appeared. He has also had them listed in the *Cumulative Book Index*, the *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, and *Publishers' Weekly*, and the entire series in the *Vertical File Service Catalogue*. Number 15 was a limited reprint of the paper on the Third Order read at last year's Meeting and consisted of only 250 copies; the other numbers are wholly new and have not appeared elsewhere. One of our Canadian confrères, Rev. William Lavallée, O.F.M., is preparing a French translation of Number 15, and permission to publish an edition for Ireland has been granted the Irish Franciscans. Following is the Board of Editors of the *Franciscan Studies*:

Editor-in-chief, Rev. Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., A.M. Associate Editors: Rev. John Wuest, O.F.M., L.G., Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Berard Vogt, O.F.M., Ph. D., Butler, N. J.; Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, Calif.; Rev. Aloysius Costa, O.F.M., S.T.D., Lowell, Mass.; Rev. Casimir Stec, O.F.M., Burlington, Wis.; Rev. Urban Adelman, O.M.Cap., J.C.D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., F.R.S.C., Montreal, Canada; Rev. Vincent Mayer, O.M.C., Syracuse, N.Y.; Rev. Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., Ph. D., Mt. Calvary, Wis.; Rev. Matthew Bearan, O.M.C., Athol Springs, N.Y.; Rev. Aloysius M. Fish, O.M.C., Ph. D., Louisville, Ky.; Rev. Hilary McDonagh, O.M.Cap., M.A., Ph. D., D.D., Ireland; Rev. Alexis de Barbezieux, O.M.Cap., Canada; Rev. Dunstan Dobbins, O.M.Cap., B. Litt. (Oxon.), Oxford, England; Rev. Celsus Kelly, O.F.M., Charing Cross, Waverley, N. S. W., Australia; Rev. Dominic Devas, O.F.M., London, England.

Following is a complete list of publications sponsored by the Franciscan Educational Conference over and above the eighteen *Annual Reports*:

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs dealing with subjects of Franciscan history and Franciscan science. They are published at irregular intervals. The following issues have appeared to date:

1. *Science in the Franciscan Order. An Historical Sketch.* By John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. \$0.25
2. *St. Bonaventure: The Seraphic Doctor. His Life and Works.* By Ludger Wegemer, O. F. M. *St. Bonaventure on the Knowledge of God.* By Vincent Mayer, O. M. C. \$0.25
3. *The Origin and Development of the Franciscan School. Duns Scotus and St. Thomas. Note on the "Formal Distinction" of Scotus. Note on the "Forma Corporeitatis" of Scotus.* By Berard Vogt, O. F. M., Ph. D. (Out of print.) \$0.25
4. *Ven. John Duns Scotus. His Life and Works.* By Edwin Dorzweiler, O. M. Cap., A. M. *The Doctrine of Ven. John Duns Scotus Concerning the Causality of the Sacraments.* By Raphael M. Huber, O. M. C., S. T. D. *The Teaching of Ven. John Duns Scotus Concerning the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.* By Vincent Mayer, O. M. C. \$0.25
5. *Language Studies in the Franciscan Order. An Historical Sketch.* By John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (Out of print) \$0.75
6. *Franciscan Mysticism. A Critical Examination of the Mystical Theology of the Seraphic Doctor, with Special Reference to the Sources of His Doctrines.* (Essay crowned by Oxford University.) By Dunstan Dobbins, O. M. Cap., B. Litt. (Oxon.) . . . \$1.25
7. *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927).* By Anscar Zawart, O. M. Cap. \$1.50
8. *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766). An Historical Sketch Based on Original Documents.* By Claude L. Vogel, O. M. Cap., Ph. D. (Out of print.) \$1.50
9. *Pere Girard, Educator.* By Andrew Maas, O. M. C., A. M. \$0.50
10. *Ignatius Cardinal Persico, O. M. Cap.* By Donald Shearer, O. M. Cap., Ph. D. *Pioneer Capuchin Missionaries in the United States (1784-1816).* By Norbert Miller, O. M. Cap., A. M. \$0.75
11. *Pontificia Americana: A Documentary History of the Catholic Church in the United States (1784-1884).* By Donald Shearer, O. M. Cap., Ph. D. \$1.25
12. *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838-1918).* By Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap., Ph. D. \$0.75
13. *The Franciscan Pere Marquette. A Critical Biography of Father Zenobe Membre, O. F. M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion (1645 ca.-1689). With Maps and Original Narratives.* By Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., A. M. \$1.25
14. *Pre-Reformation Printed Books. A Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography.* By John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. \$1.00
15. *Catholic Leadership toward Social Progress—the Third Order.* By Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., A. M. \$0.50
16. *Pioneer Capuchin Letters.* By Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap., Ph. D. \$1.00

17. *Roger Bacon's Contribution to Knowledge.* By Edward Lutz, O. F. M. Illustrations by E. Katkoski..... \$0.50
18. *The Martyrs of Florida.* Translated with Biographical Introduction and Notes, by Maynard Geiger, O. F. M..... \$1.00

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, each \$2.75 per dozen; \$20.00 per hundred. Nos. 1-13, except Nos. 3, 5 and 8 which are out of print, \$5.00. At all bookstores and at the publishers.

JOSEPH F. WAGNER, INC., PUBL.
54 Park Place, New York City

Following is a selection of communications addressed to the Conference:

CURIA GENERALIZIA
Dell' Ordine
dei
Frati Minori Conventuali

August 21, 1936.

My dear Fr. Claude:

I thank the Franciscan Educational Conference for the fraternal felicitations and pledge of filial loyalty received by cablegram from Santa Barbara. This year's Meeting must have been very interesting and instructive. Franciscan History of North America has not yet been written. This is the task of the Friars who by diligent research and hard work will bring to light many facts now unknown. Please do not forget me when sending out the *Reports* of this year's Meeting.

With fraternal greetings and a special blessing for the Franciscan Educational Conference, I am

Sincerely in St. Francis,

BEDE HESS, O.M.C.,
Minister General, O.M.C.

CURIA GENERALIS FF. MINORUM CAPUCCINORUM
Via Boncompagni, 71
Roma (125)

Rome, January 8, 1936.

Very Reverend and dear Father:

Kindly accept my sincere thanks for sending me the proceedings of the Seventeenth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference.

It is eminently inspiring to behold how the Friars of today continue to foster their glorious traditions in dealing with the problems of true social progress.

May the blessing of our Seraphic Father rest upon all your endeavors.

Fraternally yours in Saint Francis

Fr. VIGILIUS A VALSTAGNA,
Min. Gen. O.M.Cap.

AUGUSTINIAN COLLEGE
3900 Harewood Road, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

November 19, 1935.

Dear Father Vogel,

We are truly grateful for the copy of the Annual *Report* of the Franciscan Educational Conference. Sentimental reasons alone would be sufficient to command our interest in the educational activities of the Franciscans. But, in addition, very practical reasons make it imperative that we keep in touch with every outstanding activity in the field of Catholic education.

The papers I have so far read, I found interesting and profitable, and I look forward to the reading of the others with like results.

The copy will be placed in our Reading Room so that our students may reap the pleasure and profit which the reading of it is sure to confer.

Yours in Christ,

DENIS J. KAVANAGH, O.S.A.

SULPICIAN SEMINARY
Catholic University
Washington, D. C.

November 19, 1935.

Dear Father Vogel:

I thank you for sending me the *Report* of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. It is gratifying to see that when most men around us talk depression, your Conference, true to the Franciscan spirit of optimistic and joyful confidence, has taken Social Progress as the subject of the seven papers. I shall read them with interest and profit, for I feel that they are up to the high standard set in previous Meetings.

Gratefully yours,

A. VIEBAN, S.S.

DOMINICAN HOUSE OF STUDIES
Washington, D. C.

November 22, 1935.

Dear Father Claude:

The *Report* of the 17th Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference came a few days ago. I have just finished reading it, and once more I thank you for the pleasure and inspiration it affords. Let me offer my congratulations on a fine work splendidly done.

With greetings, I am

Faternally,

JUSTIN McMANUS, O.P.

DORSTEN I/WESTF.

den 9. Dez. 1935.

Hochwürdiger, lieber P. Sekretär!

Mit gewohnter Pünktlichkeit ist der neue Bericht über Ihre diesjährige Franziskanerlektorenkonferenz von Garrison N. Y. hier eingetroffen. Em-

pfangen Sie meinen besten Dank für diese schöne Gabe, die wiederum Kunde gibt von dem edlen und starken Streben in Ihren Reihen, auch auf dem heiz umstrittenen Gebiet der Gesellschaftslehre im Kampf der Geister nicht zurückzustehen und ihre Probleme von verschiedenster Seite, namentlich auf Grundlage der päpstlichen Rundschreiben zu beleuchten.

Möge Ihren Bemühungen auch fernerhin Gottes reichster Segen beschieden sein.

Mit den besten Wünschen für Weihnachten und den Jahreswechsel, sende ich zugleich die herzlichsten Grüße.

Ihr ergebenster,

P. ERICH WEGERICHS, O.F.M.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ACTION

Washington, D. C.

December 2, 1935.

Dear Rev. Fathers:

As in former years, you have been kind enough to send me a copy of the *Report* of the Franciscan Educational Conference. The papers are well done and represent thorough treatment of their respective subjects. Let me congratulate you on this fine *Report* of your Seventeenth Annual Meeting.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. RYAN,

Director, Department of Social Action.

THIRD ORDER FRATERNITY

East State Street, Cheboygan, Mich.

December 19, 1935.

Dear Father Secretary:

May we have a copy of the *Report* of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference? It has been recommended for the tertiaries in our *Third Order Forum*, and we wish to have it for our Catholic Action work.

Respectfully,

THIRD ORDER FRATERNITY,

Cheboygan, Mich.

SERAFIJNSCH SEMINARIE

Langeweg, Holland

Jan. 26, 1936.

Dear Father in Christ:

The *Report* of the Seventeenth Meeting of your Conference arrived. I thank you for sending this useful collection of Franciscan views on education which can be adapted to the circumstances in which we live here in the Netherlands. This *Report* will be of valuable assistance to us in the training of our Franciscan youth. May St. Francis bless your Conference.

Sincerely in St. Francis,

Fr. ROMUALD, O.M.Cap.

FEEHAN MEMORIAL LIBRARY
ST. MARY OF THE LAKE SEMINARY,
Mundelein, Ill.

Feb. 10, 1936.

Reverend Fathers:

We should like to have a complete set of your *Educational Reports*. The last number we have is volume XV. If any others have been issued, kindly send them to us. We should also like to have a complete list of your publications.

Sincerely,

H. W. KOENIG.

GUARDIAN ANGELS CHURCH
Covington, Ky.

Feb. 20, 1936.

Dear Father Claude:

Thanks again for the *Report* of your Conference. All papers are up to the high standard of previous Reports. One of them, "Catholic Leadership Toward Social Progress—The Third Order," was a real "eye-opener" to me. I have been familiar with the Third Order for many years, but I had no idea of the extent of its accomplishments in the field of social progress, nor of its tremendous possibilities for the future. Every pastor, every teacher of sociology, every social worker should read and ponder every paragraph of this splendid paper. "The Family, the Main Factor in Social Progress," also was very excellent. It will furnish me with abundant material for sermons on the family.

Wishing you God's blessing,

J. J. LAUX.

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY
Overbrook, Phila., Pa.

Jan. 24, 1936.

My dear Doctor Vogel:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending me the *Report* of the 1935 Conference. With thoughtful attention I read it from cover to cover. There is a vast amount of valuable information stored away in its pages. If I may say so, I think you did well to continue the topic of the previous year, for the subject of social reconstruction is not by any means exhausted. The best thing about the papers and the discussions and that which gives them their unique character is that you inject into the treatment of every problem the Franciscan spirit. Personally, I believe that this spirit will renew the world.

With sincere thanks and best wishes

I am very cordially yours,

C. BRUEHL.

CONVENTO DE SÃO FRANCISCO
Olinda (Brazil)

March 31, 1936.

Dear Father Vogel:

I received the *Report* of The Franciscan Educational Conference. I am very grateful to you for your kindness in sending it to me. I am reading it

with the greatest interest, since the articles are of great value for our work in Brazil, where economic questions are becoming more important every day.

With many thanks,

Yours very sincerely,

Fr. MATHIAS TEVES, O.F.M.

After these preliminaries the Chairman called for the first paper entitled: "Franciscan Historians of North America," by the Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap., Lect. Em., St. Augustine's Monastery, 220, 37 St., Pittsburgh, Pa. In the absence of Father John Lenhart his paper was read by the Rev. Donald Shearer, O.M.Cap., of Washington, D. C. Friar John Lenhart, O.M.Cap., is an outstanding authority on incunabula and bibliography and his paper gave evidence of a thorough grasp of his vast subject. A discussion followed the reading of the paper and it dealt especially with the authenticity and reliability of some of the primitive sources for Franciscan history. Mexican authors especially were commemorated, and it was pointed out that valuable works of some nineteen Franciscans are to be found in the university of Berkeley, California. At the close of the session all were convinced that rich sources for the Franciscan History of North America are to be found not only in the foreign archives of Rome, Spain and France, but also in the libraries of the United States, Canada and Mexico.

The Meeting adjourned at 10.00 p. m.

SECOND SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 3, 1936, 8.00 a. m.

The Chairman opened the session with a commemoration of the late Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., historian of the Franciscan Padres and of their California Missions. "Meeting as we are," said the Chairman, "within the shadow of the Old Mission where this scholarly Friar did his pioneer work and where his worthy remains lie buried, it is but meet that we pause in our deliberations and pay tribute to an exceptional man who has made history lovers and history writers his debtors." In asking the friars to remember Father Engelhardt at the altar, the Chairman also included in his request the late Father Claude Mindorff,

O.F.M., a charter member and a staunch friend of the Conference. Friar Claude died within the last year.

The first paper of the morning session was now presented. Friar Joseph Thompson, O.F.M., of St. Joseph's Church, Los Angeles, California, was especially qualified to treat the subject: "The Franciscans in New Spain, 1522-1600." Son of a Spanish mother, Friar Joseph has inherited a love and enthusiasm for all that stands for traditional Spanish faith and patriotism. In the discussion that followed, the spiritual motives that animated the Spanish government in its explorations and colonization were duly considered. The old idea, still prevalent in too many histories, that the Spanish conquest of Mexico was one of loot and bloodshed only, was roundly condemned. Mention was also made of the striking similarity between the Ritual of the old Aztecs and that of the Jews.

The next paper entitled "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest," was contributed by the Rev. Bonaventure Oblasser, O.F.M., of San Solano Mission, Topawa, Arizona. Precision, exactness and clarity marked the paper of Friar Bonaventure, life-long student of his subject and missionary of twenty-seven years among the Indians. Much of the discussion dealt with the writer's claim that Fray Marcos de Niza was the first European to enter the present State of Arizona.

The Meeting adjourned at 11.45 a. m.

THIRD SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 3, 1936, 3.00 p. m.

Upon opening the Meeting the Chairman appointed the following Committees:

On Press and Publicity: Friars Louis Schoen, Constant Klein, Maynard Geiger, Donald Shearer.

On Resolutions: Friars Turibius Deaver, Mathias Schnieders, Cuthbert Gumbinger, Marion Habig, Theodore Roemer.

The Chairman also called attention to the exhibit of books, pamphlets and pictures, products of the St. Anthony Guild Press of Paterson, N. J. For some years this Franciscan Press has produced books on both popular and scientific topics, and artistic

prints of religious subjects. The specimens displayed in the convention hall gave evidence of the high quality of the work. Other maps, charts and tables designed by the friars to assist their students bespoke interest and skill on the part of the authors.

The paper of the afternoon session was written by the Rev. Diomede Pohlkamp, O.F.M., of St. Anthony's Hospital, Louisville, Ky. The subject was "The Spanish Franciscans in the Southeast." In the absence of Friar Diomede, his paper was read by the Rev. Seraph Zeitz, O.F.M., of Cincinnati, Ohio. The President expressed the gratitude of the Conference to Father Diomede for his informative and critical essay. The supplementary remarks brought out that the first hospital in our present United States was erected in St. Augustine shortly before 1598, and that when the Franciscan friary burned in 1599, the hospital, known as the Hermitage of Our Lady of Solitude, became the temporary home of the friars. Likewise the first Franciscan Province was established in Florida in 1612, and the first Provincial Chapter convened in Georgia in 1616.

The Meeting adjourned at 4.00 p. m.

FOURTH SESSION

• SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 3, 1936, 8.00 p. m.

Heretofore the Conference had devoted itself to the study of Franciscan history in the Southwest and Southeast and under Spanish auspices. This evening attention was turned to New France, that vast territory including Canada and the central portion of the United States down to the Gulf of Mexico. The history of this territory was sketched in three papers. The first paper dealt with "The Friars Minor in French and British North America," and was written by the Rev. Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Father Hugolin's paper was read by the Rev. Owen Silva, O.F.M., of St. Anthony's Seminary, Santa Barbara. As Friar Hugolin is a pioneer in this field, he treated his subject with such completeness as to leave little room for any additions on the part of the friars.

The second paper on New France treated "The Capuchins of Canada," and was written by the Rev. Fr. Alexis, O.M.Cap., of

La Reparation, *pres.* Montreal, Canada. Advanced age, beyond the Scriptural three-score and ten, prevented the noted historian from attending the Conference. His paper was read by the Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.M.Cap., of Garrison, N. Y. The discussion emphasized the fact that the Acadian Mission embraced also the State of Maine, and that the Capuchin missionaries labored among the Abenakis of this State.

The third paper on New France was entitled: "The Capuchins of Lower Louisiana," and was written by the Rev. Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., Ph. D., of the Capuchin College, Washington, D. C. The discussion enlarged upon the activity of these Capuchin missionaries in behalf of the spiritual and temporal welfare of the colonists.

The Meeting adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

FIFTH SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 4, 1936, 8.00 a. m.

Feast of St. Dominic, Founder of the Order of Friars Preacher and revered as a second Father by the Order of Friars Minor. In token of the friendship between the Apostolic Dominic and the Seraphic Francis, the friars assembled in Conference deemed it fitting to open the day's session with special tribute to the friend of their holy Founder. In brief but graphic words Friar Owen Silva, O.F.M., of Santa Barbara, commemorated the friendship between the two Saints and traced the traditional kinship between the two Orders especially in California. True to the old tradition, both Dominican and Franciscan Friars of the Golden West exchange annual tokens of mutual esteem.

After this preliminary the Rev. Oliver Murray, O.F.M., of St. Francis Friary, 135 West 31 St., New York City, read his paper on "The Franciscans in the English Colonies." This paper was particularly appropriate because hitherto comparatively little has been written on the activities of the friars in the English Colonies. The deeds of the Padres in Mexico, in the Southwest and Southeast of the United States are told in many and heavy tomes, but the toils and labors of the friars pioneering singly in various sections of the original colonies are for the most part unheralded and unsung. The present succinct account has been long awaited.

The paper on "The Present Provinces of the Three Franciscan Families," was next presented by the Rev. Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., Ph. D., of St. Lawrence's College, Mount Calvary, Wis. The writing of this paper necessitated a copious questionnaire to each of the Provinces and Commissariats treated and, to the credit of the friars, the writer avowed a hundred percent response. The discussion that followed dealt not so much with the facts in the history of the various Provinces as with the ideas and motives underlying their many activities. It was emphasized that the Franciscan ideal is to live the life of Christ in its contemplative and active aspects; that the Franciscan Rule aims not solely at personal perfection but also at the sanctification of others through an active apostolate. That the American friars of the three families have aimed steadfastly at the attainment of this ideal, is borne out by the history of each Province.

The third paper of the morning session was a study of the "Franciscan Martyrs of North America," by the Rev. Marion Habig, O.F.M., A.M., of Sacred Heart Friary, Washington, D. C. This subject was hailed as a lost chapter in the history of the American Church. Never before had this subject been set forth so succinctly and completely. Insisting rigidly on the three dogmatic conditions for Christian martyrdom, *viz., death patiently borne for the cause of Christ*, the writer combed archives and libraries and found it historically certain that sixty-nine Sons of St. Francis in ten States of the Union have merited the title of martyr. Justly proud of its heroic forbears, the Conference went on record as favoring, if it please God, the presentation of our martyrs' cause for canonical investigation. To this end a petition bearing signatures of fifty-one friars was forwarded to the Very Rev. Postulator General of the Franciscans in Rome.

The Meeting adjourned at 11.45 a. m.

SIXTH SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 4, 1936, 3.00 p. m.

Upon opening the session the President called for the paper: "A Statistical Survey of the Second Order of St. Francis and of the Third Order Regular and Secular in North America," by

the Rev. Mark Nolan, O.M.C., of St. Anthony-on-the-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y. As the title indicates, this paper was largely statistical and its compilation imposed on the writer a most tiresome task. However, the paper was essential to complete the history of Franciscan influence in this country. Since the three Orders are complementary, one of another, the discussion emphasized the propriety of the First Order to be interested in the progress and fortunes of the others.

The last paper on "The Franciscan Historian and History Writing," was presented by the Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., of Santa Barbara, California. A successful author of several works, the writer could speak from experience. The discussion stressed the necessity of cultivating interest in the contemporary history of each Province and emphasized the important duties of chroniclers and archivists.

The Meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m.

SEVENTH SESSION

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 4, 1936, 8.00 p. m.

The delegates assembled for final business. The first question debated was the establishment of an Institute of Franciscan History of North America. It was recommended that the Institute assume the proportions of a summer school which the clerics should be obliged to attend once in the course of their studies. The writing of text books for use in our seminaries was also heartily recommended to the friars. The subject for next year's Meeting was now discussed. Pleas were made for liturgy, catechetics, youth movement, teaching-methods, the press and the fine arts. The selection was left to the Executive Committee.

The Editor of the *Franciscan Studies* submitted the following report of what the friars have published during the year:

Adelman, Urban, O.M.Cap.

In the *Ecclesiastical Review*:

Review of Facchinetti's *L'Anima di Pio Decimo*. May, 1936.

Review of Gemelli's *The Franciscan Message to the World* (tr. by Rev. H. L. Hughes). June, 1936.

Albert de St. Félix, O.M.Cap.

"Tiers-Ordre, école d'Action catholique." *Ibid.*, Feb., 1936.

"Charité et Education." *Bulletin Paroissial de Limoulu*, May, 1936.

Alexis de Barbezieux, O.M.Cap.

"Grandeur et décadence de l'autorité." *Annales de La Réparation*,
July, 1935-July, 1936.

Appeldorn, Maynard, O.M.Cap.

In the *Ecclesiastical Review*:

Review of Glody's *A Shepherd of the Far North*. Oct., 1935.

Review of Graham's *The New Psalter: Latin and English*. May, 1936.

Review of Elbert's *The Three Hours Agony of Our Lord Jesus Christ*.
Ibid.

Auger, Marie-Emile, O.F.M.

"Sous quel drapeau militer?" *Les Cahiers Franciscains*. May, 1935.

"Nécrologie: Le R. P. Zénon Fontaine, O.F.M." *La Revue Franciscaine*, May, 1935.

Baier, David, O.F.M.

"The Liturgical Movement and the Third Order." *Third Order Forum*,
March, 1936.

Barnes, Kenneth, O.M.Cap.

"Sanctity in Evening Clothes." *Seraphic Chronicle*, April, 1936.

Barth, Silas, O.F.M.

Annals of the Province of the Sacred Heart, O.F.M. No. 14, 1935;
No. 15, 1936.

Baumgartner, Apollinaris, O.M.Cap.

A Capuchin Servant of Mary. Detroit, Michigan, 1935.

In *Seraphic Chronicle*:

"The Franciscan Tertiary." July-Dec., 1935.

"Bill Says." July-Dec., 1935.

"God's Traffic Lights." July-Dec., 1935.

"Opium in China." Nov., 1935.

"The Crime at Cristo Rey." April, 1936.

"Thursday at San Miguel." May, 1936.

"Joy." April, 1936.

"Perseverance." May, 1936.

"Learning." June, 1936.

Review of *Letters to Saint Francis and His Friends*. July, 1935.

"Colored Man's Friend." *Mission Almanac*, 1936.

Beauchemin, Félix-Marie, O.F.M.

Le Savoir au service de l'Amour. Second Edition, Paris, 1935.

"S. E. Mgr. Monahan, Héraut du Christ-Roi." *La Revue Franciscaine*,
Nov., 1935.

Bélanger, Frédéric, O.F.M.

Serial articles in *La Justice* (Biddeford), 1936.

"Le R. P. Justinien Mercier, O.F.M." *La Revue Franciscaine*, Dec.,
1935.

Bélanger, Vincent, O.F.M.

L'Evangile dans la vie scout. Montreal, 1935.

Benoit, Séraphin, O.F.M.

"Le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique au Japon." *Les Missions*
Franciscaines, Jan.-Feb., 1935.

"Le Professeur japonais." *Ibid.*, March-April, 1935.

"L'Aide à l'éducation au Japon." *Ibid.*, July-Aug., 1935.

"Méthode d'éducation et d'enseignement." *Ibid.*, May-June, 1936.

"R. P. Marie-Emile Auger." *La Revue Franciscaine*, Nov., 1935.

Bensman, Stephen, O.F.M.

"A Silver Lining—To a Whole Sky Full of Clouds." *Franciscan Herald*, Feb., 1936.

"Crossing the Bridge." *Ibid.*, April, 1936.

Berens, Juvenal, O.F.M.

"Points Between Us." *The Baconian*, Nov., 1935–May, 1936.

"A Franciscan Message to the Graduates." *The Jongleur*, 1936.

Bernholz, Adolph, O.M.C.

In *The Minorite*:

"St. Lawrence of Brindisi." July, 1935.

"St. Louis of Anjou." Aug., 1935.

"Bl. Gentile." Sept., 1935.

"St. Peter of Alcantara." Oct., 1935.

"Bl. Elisabeth the Good." Nov., 1935.

In *The Companion*:

"Bl. Angela of Foligno." Jan., 1936.

"Bl. Andrew of Segni." Feb., 1936.

"St. John Joseph of the Cross." March, 1936.

"Bl. Thomas of Tolentino." April, 1936.

"Bl. Gerard of Villamagna." May, 1936.

Birkenheuer, Donald,

"Big Game Hunting." *The Sodalist*, May, 1936.

Bittle, Berchmans, O.M.Cap.

Catholic Life and Action. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1935.

Bittle, Celestine, O.M.Cap.

Reality and the Mind. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1936.

Blank, Floribert, O.F.M.

In *Franciscans in China*:

"Effective Schooling." Oct., 1935.

"God Plucks a Flower." March, 1936.

"A Flight in the Night." March, 1936.

"To Heaven As I Am." March, 1936.

"The Devil vs. The Little Flower." June, 1936.

Blocker, Hyacinth, O.F.M.

In *St. Anthony Messenger*:

"Merchants of Misery." July, 1935.

"Sunday Morning." July, 1935.

"The Education of the Average American Girl." Aug., 1935.

"Muggles—The Drug of Romance." Sept., 1935.

"English—As She Was and Is Spoken." Nov., 1935.

"I Can't Remember, Love." Nov., 1935.

"Our Lady's Lullaby." Dec., 1935.

"Scrupulosity and Its Cure." Dec., 1935.

"Another New Deal." Sept., 1935.

"The Man Who Saw God." Sept., 1935.

"Queen of the Seven Swords." Sept., 1935.

"Bubbles from the Fountain of Youth." Sept., 1935.

"Autumn." Nov., 1935.

"First Christmas." Jan., 1936.

"First Mass." June, 1936.

"Sodality Chats." *The Sodalist*, Sept., 1935–June, 1936.

Boisvert, Emmanuel, O.F.M.

"L'Apologétique de Tertullien." *Les Cahiers Franciscains*, May, 1935.

"Foi et philosophie chez Tertullien." *Ibid.*, Dec., 1935.

- "L'Essence de la prière." *Supplément sacerdotal de la Revue Franciscaine*, December, 1935—June, 1936.
- "Un art de vivre." *La Revue Franciscaine*, May, 1935.
- "La Félicitation." *Ibid.*, June, 1935.
- "Élévation vespérale." *Ibid.*, Aug., 1935.
- Boiteau, Léopold, O.F.M.**
 "Ils veulent le suivre de plus près." *Almanach de S. François*, 1936.
- Bouchard, Tharsicius, O.F.M.**
 "Reflexions d'un visiteur du Tiers-Ordre." *La Revue Franciscaine*, 1935-36.
- Buffard, Odoric, O.F.M.**
 "Rosaire et Poésie." *Les Cahiers Franciscains*, II, 1935.
 "Réalisme et critique." *La Renaissance*, Aug. 24, 1935.
- Brazeau, Wilfrid, O.F.M.**
 "Does St. James Contradict St. Paul on Faith and Good Works?" *Les Cahiers Franciscains*, II, 1935.
- Brinkman, Gerard,**
 "Captured—Two Santa Clauses." *The Sodalist*, Jan., 1936.
- Brisgal, Agatho, O.M.Cap.**
 In the *Ecclesiastical Review*:
 Review of Mazoyer-de Ruggiero's *L'Apprenti Missionnaire*. July, 1935.
 Review of Herrero-Buron's *Un Ange de Huit Ans*. *Ibid.*
 Review of Blouet's *Bienséances Religieuses*. Oct., 1935.
 Review of Bretonnet's *Le Chanoine Mangou et la première Communauté sacerdotale de Larchant*. *Ibid.*
 Review of *Ce Qui se passe en Allemagne*. Nov., 1935.
 Review of Margaret D'Arbouze's *Traité de l'Oraison Mentale*. *Ibid.*
 Review of Richard's *Théologie et Piété d'après Saint Thomas*. June, 1936.
- Brouillard, Carmel, O.F.M.**
En écoutant le P. Archange. Montreal, 1935.
 "La simplicité de Frère Jean le Simple" (4 acts). *Almanach de S. François*, 1935.
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Donders' *Paul Wilhelm von Keppler*. Dec., 1935.

Leen's *Progress Through Mental Prayer*, May, 1936.

Yeaglin, Armand, O.M.Cap.

In the *Ecclesiastical Review*:

Review of Lelen's *Towards the Altar*. June, 1936.

Review of Favre's *Great Mystic of the Eighteenth Century*. May, 1936.

Zahn, Damian, O.F.M.

"Under Mary's Colors." *The Sodalist*, Oct., 1935.

Zeitz, Seraph, O.F.M.

"Katherine Tekakwitha." *The Sodalist*, Apr., 1936.

Ziegler, Luke, O.M.C.

"An Apology for Epicureanism." *The Minorite*, Aug., 1935.

The Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.M.Cap., submitted the Resolutions, which were adopted as read. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Fr. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., Allegany, N. Y.

Vice-President, Fr. Vincent Mayer, O.M.C., Syracuse, N.Y.

Secretary, Fr. Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., Washington, D. C.

Editor (*Franciscan Studies*), Fr. Marion Habig, O.F.M., San Francisco, Calif.

The following friars were chosen as new members of the Executive Board of the Conference: Fr. Norbert Zonca, O.M.C., Province of St. Anthony, Buffalo, N. Y.; Fr. Leonard Bacigalupo, O.F.M., Province of the Immaculate Conception, N. Y.; Fr. Albert Leis, O.M.C., Province of Our Lady of Consolation, Louisville, Ky.; Fr. Daniel Hughes, O.M.Cap., Province of St. Lawrence of Brindisi, London, England.

The President now expressed the heartfelt thanks of the Conference to the friars of Santa Barbara and especially to the Very Rev. Turibius Deaver, O.F.M., and the Rev. Louis Schoen, O.F.M., through whose magnanimous hospitality the days of our Meeting were rendered forever memorable. Following the praiseworthy precedent of last year, the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference was brought to a close amidst the strains of a grateful *Te Deum*.

As an aftermath to the Convention the local Padres had arranged a series of entertainments for the visiting friars. On Wednesday morning, August 5, the delegates had the pleasure of visiting the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History where the curator, Dr. David B. Rogers, lectured on "The Channel Indians before the Coming of the Padres." The subject dealt with the early California Indians who had settled in the vicinity of Santa Bar-

bara. Following the lecture a visit was made to the ruins of the Old Mission dam in the Blaksley Botanical Gardens.

From the Botanical Gardens the party drove forty miles to the old Mission of Santa Ines established by the Spanish Franciscan Padres but now in the hands of the Capuchins of the Irish Mission. The delegates inspected the adobe-built church and friary which are fairly well preserved. The kindness and hospitality of the good Capuchin Superior will be long remembered by all who were privileged to be his guests. All the delegates signed the Mission Register and proceeded to the little town of Santa Maria where they were the guests of the genial proprietor of Santa Maria Inn. After the dinner the delegates motored to the abandoned mission of La Purissima Concepcion near Lompoc where the Civil Conservation Corps is doing the work of reconstruction.

Wednesday evening found the friars with thousands of spectators from far and near sitting under the clear California skies before the Old Mission of Santa Barbara witnessing the opening ceremonies of the Fiesta known as "Old Spanish Days." The Mission pageant entitled "One Hundred and Fifty Years" was an episodic description of the establishment of the Santa Barbara Mission. One by one the scenes of the early life and hardship were reenacted until the pealing of the old Mission bells proclaimed the Church established in Santa Barbara. At the close of the pantomime, the Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., invited by the committee in charge, addressed the assembly on behalf of the Franciscan Educational Conference so warmly welcomed to the city.

On Thursday afternoon the delegates witnessed the grand parade in which about five thousand persons and six hundred horses took part. Jet black horses vied with golden palominos, pintos, bays and sorrels. In the evening the friars attended the pageant given by the civil authorities in the new Will Roger's Bowl of Santa Barbara. This pageant dramatized the history of early California. The old-fashioned Spanish dance, music and song brought the day to a close.

And now began the reluctant departure. In groups of two and three the pilgrims from the East took leave of Santa Barbara the quaintness and beauty of which had gripped their hearts. Previous to the Conference the writer of an editorial in *The Morning Press* of Santa Barbara had said:

We of Santa Barbara will learn much from the tireless research and intelligent conclusions of the visiting Franciscan historians. They, in turn, will learn much from us—and through the Fiesta they will be brought into touch with an almost contemporaneous picture of much of the life of which they write.

No friar will question the truth of this latter statement, for on leaving the romantic West to return to the prosaic East, one and all felt richer in knowledge, keener in appreciation and nearer in kinship with the magnanimous Padres and People of the Golden West.

FR. CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O.M.Cap.,
Secretary.

THE CONFERENCE GREETS CALIFORNIA

FR. THOMAS PLASSMANN, O.F.M., President.*

My Friends:

"It is not without some hesitation, or should I say, trepidation that I appear before this festive, joyful and colorful gathering. And I beg of you, if I should fail fully to understand and adequately to interpret the marvelous harmony that prevails here this evening, to remember that I hail from the East, from the coastlands of the Atlantic, where the colors are not so bright, where art and music may not so freely follow nature's unfettered inspiration, where, perhaps, human hearts are not so warm, and where towering edifices and smoking factories deprive men's habitations of much of heaven's sunshine.

"I speak sincerely when in the name of all my conferees I offer you my most heartfelt congratulations. We congratulate you on the land in which you live. •God has been good to you, for it would seem that in this blessed valley He has emptied nature's horn of plenty. Archaeologists have gone forth to explore the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris and to seek the traces of the Paradise that was. But if God's inspired word would give us leave, we would ask them to direct their steps hither, to find what appears to us, pilgrims from the East, to be the little Paradise that is.

"Your lordly mountains that surround you like a mighty wall; your stately palms and lofty pines and silver-tinged olive trees that afford you refreshing shade or delicious fruit, your merry songsters whose happy warblings fill the air from
Chosen early morn till late at night; your multi-colored
Generation flowers that never seem to lay aside their sweet odor or festive garb; your glorious blue sky with its eternal smile; and last but not least, the calm and serene Pacific ocean, lying by your side like the giant dragon in the fairy tale watching over the peaceful mansion of the Princess,—Men and Women of Santa Barbara, God has blessed you indeed. You are a chosen generation.

* Delivered from the steps of historic Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Wednesday evening, August 5, 1936, to a crowd estimated at nearly 10,000.

"And we congratulate you on your wisdom and your foresight. Your own hands have not spoiled the gifts of nature. Human ingenuity has worked together with nature's designs and nature's affluence. We witness here a harmonious blending of human art and nature's inspiration. Your architecture minutely follows the lines and tints so finely executed by nature's hand.

"But even more do we admire your devotion and your reverence for the past. Your actions reveal your firm conviction that not all that is ancient is also antiquated, and that what is old is not necessarily obsolete. And herein, too, we commend your wisdom and your appreciation of the truth that true progress means to look backward as well as forward, that civilization is empty without true culture, and that culture is void without its essence and its marrow, which is religion, or the faith of those who lived before us and who, bearing the burdens of the day and the heats, blazoned the trail, that we might walk securely and happily.

"This beautiful Fiesta is a monument, not in stone or metal, but in the throbbing hearts and ringing voices to the memory of your sturdy and inspired forefathers who amid many
Monument labors and privations succeeded in making this a better
to Past world to live in. This Fiesta is also a credit to you, for in honoring them you are honoring yourselves, and you render proof today of your gratitude—and gratitude is among the noblest of virtues.

"It is this that particularly appeals to us, who have come here from distant parts to hold in this venerable city our annual Franciscan Educational Conference. Under the hospitable roofs of the Old Mission and St. Anthony's College we have during the past three days discussed the subject of Franciscan history in North America. We came here because this is the cradle of Franciscans and Franciscanism on the western hemisphere.

"We are a group of students and educators. We have come here to learn, not to teach, and this glorious festivity before us, is a lesson that shall never lapse from our memories.

"There is much discussion, much obscurity and much experimentation in education today. One new system follows the other; theories supersede theories, and tomorrow a new school of pedagogy stands at the door to lay to rest that school that was born only today.

"We Franciscans seek to learn from others and to adopt the best that the science of education may offer, but there is no change

in our philosophy of life; there is no change in the fundamentals that have come down to us from Francis of Assisi, from Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor, from Anthony of Padua, from Junipero Serra and his gallant companions who brought the light of the Gospel and the light of Christian culture as well to this Pacific coast. There is no change in those fundamentals because they stand upon the foundations of the Prophets and the Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone.

“Men of California, Junipero Serra has built for you a kingdom or if you will, a republic which contained the best answer to the solution of those economic, social and political problems with which the civilized world must grapple today. He established order and prosperity and liberty and brought happiness and peace to a forlorn and impoverished people. The reason was because he gave them the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.

“Today this grand Old Mission stands before us in its solemn majesty. Its towers point heavenward as they did in Junipero’s day and above them rises the Cross of Christ. May we draw a salutary lesson from this mute and yet so eloquent teacher.

“Junipero has built for you the Camino Real over your mountains and through your valleys, but this Camino does not terminate in California; it reaches far beyond, yea, to the eternal gates of heaven. *Sursum corda!* Raise your hearts aloft and let this beautiful festivity recall to your minds the all important thought of an endless eternity.”

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS

FRANCISCAN HISTORIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

FR. JOHN M. LENHART, O.M.Cap., Lect. Em.

More than two hundred and fifty years ago Dominic de Gubernatis de Sospitello, in his *Epistola ad Lectores*,¹ called attention to the chronicles and histories of religious Orders, but deplored the lack of similar accounts regarding the achievements of the Friars Minor. Their missionary work among barbarous peoples had been unique, but because the friars had not told their story, he observed that they were often decried as unprofitable and slothful. The Order of Friars Minor in its three branches may still profit by this indictment, for today comparatively little has been done to make it undeserving this censure.

Regarding the history of missions in America, Marcellino da Civezza wrote in 1879: "To be frank, I believed that I had in the *Annales* of Wadding; in the *Orbis Seraphicus* of De Gubernatis, and in similar works, almost all necessary documents for writing the history of the Franciscan missions. But before long I was disabused of my error. I continued to write the history of Franciscan missions up to the year 1500 including the discovery of America; but it was impossible to continue without first gathering the original documents for a revised history of the marvellous spread of the Gospel in America and in other newly discovered lands. The field is still unexplored and the harvest to be gathered is vast. The documents discovered by me will enlighten authors on the glories of our Order, too often ignored, and will assist non-Franciscan writers in judging correctly the Franciscan Order which hitherto they have either ignored or traduced."²

Today, despite the progress made in special studies, it still remains true that the history of the Franciscan missions in

¹ *Orbis Seraphicus*, Rome, 1681.

² *Saggio di Bibliografia Sanfrancescana*, Prato, 1879, IX-XI.

America is "an unexplored field." Marcellino da Civezza gives in Vols. VII-XI of his *Storia dei Missioni Francescani* a very incomplete survey of the missions in America, and the *Annales Minorum* lately issued (Quaracchi, 1933-34) by Chiappini-Oliger-Pou as a continuation to Wadding (Vols. XXVI-XXVII), prove adequately that we cannot expect a detailed and reliable history of the Franciscan missions in America from the pens of European friars.

The history of Franciscan missions in America is so intimately bound up with the political and ecclesiastical history of the continent that practically all historical sources of colonial times are also sources of Franciscan history. Naturally, the most cursory survey of the complete sources of American Franciscan history would assume such vast proportions as to make it clearly beyond the scope of a paper destined for the *Report* of the Franciscan Educational Conference. Therefore, the purpose of this paper will be to give a bibliographical survey of Franciscan authors who have written on the history and allied subjects of Franciscan interest.

CARTOGRAPHERS AND COSMOGRAPHERS

The Observant Friar John a Stobnicza (died in 1520) was the first cartographer who placed North America on the map. In 1512 he published at Cracow an: *Introductio in Ptolemaei Cosmographiam* with a new map of America.

Placing This map which shows the earliest attempt to
North America represent on a plane a sphere truncated at the
on the Map poles, discards the erroneous notion of a connection of America with Asia by placing a western ocean between them. True, New England, and much more of North America is laid beneath the sea. But North America is clearly connected with Central and South America in an outline of one continuous continent and is no more designed as an isolated island.³ "It was a year before Balboa discovered the Pacific," writes Charles Deane,⁴ "that this map was published at Cracow in 1512; and we are forced to believe that divination, or more credible report, had told John de Stobnicza what was beyond the land which the Spaniards were searching. A second edition was printed at Cracow in 1519, but without the map."

³ Facsimile of map in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, Boston, 1886, 116; and III, Boston, 1884, 13.

⁴ Winsor, *op. cit.*, III, 10, note.

Another Observant Friar, André Thevet (died in 1592), cosmographer of the French king, claims to have coasted the continent of North America as early as the year 1556. He accompanied the expedition sent by Admiral Coligny to Brazil under the command of Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon in 1555. The expedition sailed from Havre, May 6, 1555, and landed at the site of the present city of Rio de Janeiro on November 17 of the same year. Friar Thevet remained in the colony no longer than about ten weeks, departing for his homeward voyage, January 31, 1556. He says that the commander of the vessel decided to return by a more northern passage than that by which he had crossed from France. Friar Thevet claims that he had coasted in that ship the entire shore of the United States in 1556, and gives in the description of his voyage (*Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*. Paris, 1558, and *La Cosmographie Universelle*. Paris, 1575) occasional accounts of what he saw, and of his communication with the natives.

The veracity of Friar Thevet's account had been challenged by many during his lifetime. A refutation of the attacks had been published in 1561 at Paris under the title: *Response aux libelles d'injures contre le Chevalier de Villegaignon*. But modern scholars were not convinced by the claims of the Friar. Among others George Dexter writes about him: ⁵ "It is quite probable that Thevet never made the voyage along the American coast of which he pretends to give an account. He gives nothing at all from Florida to what he calls the River of Norumbega (Maine) and is generally very indefinite in all his statements. He may easily have taken his stories from other travellers' books. Thevet's reputation for veracity is poor, particularly among his contemporaries." Yet Thevet found supporters both among contemporary and modern scholars who like Prince Augustin Galitzin believed that Friar Thevet "is sincere when he says that he relates only what he has seen with his own eyes or has heard from such who had been on the spot."⁶ If Friar Thevet's account be trusted, he must be regarded as having been the first Franciscan Friar who visited places north of Florida up to the banks of the Penobscot, in Maine.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV (1884), 11-12, 31.

⁶ *Cosmographie Moscovite par André Thevet*, Paris, 1858; Marcellino da Civezza, O. M. Observ., *Saggio* etc., nro. 724, 590-594.

FLORIDA

The Friars Preacher were the first missionaries in Florida (1526, probably also 1521). In 1527 Friars Minor first set foot in Florida and incidentally in the present United States. Panfilo de Narvaez fitted out an expedition to Florida which

First left Spain on June 17, 1527, carrying on five ships

Franciscan six hundred persons and among them secular priests

Friars and five Friars Minor, the superior being Friar Juan Xuarez. On April 4 of the following year they landed at Apalachee Bay, Florida. On October 31, 1528, while coasting, the boat carrying Friar Juan Xuarez and four of the friars was driven ashore bottom upward and they were never seen again. Naturally none of the friars left any writings. What we know about them is contained in the *Relacion* of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, one of the four survivors of this ill-fated expedition.⁷

Ten years later, in 1538, Hernando de Soto equipped an expedition to colonize Florida. With ten ships he left Spain on April 6, 1538, carrying with him 950 fighting men besides eight secular priests, two Dominicans, one Trinitarian, and one

One Friar Friar Minor, Fray Juan de Torres. The expedi-

Minor with tion reached Cuba towards the end of May and

De Soto remained in the harbors of Santiago de Cuba and Havana for a whole year preparing for the final departure for Florida. Finally on May 18, 1539, De Soto left Havana setting sail with a fleet of nine ships bearing one thousand men exclusive of the sailors and the priests. On May 25, he landed on the shores of Tampa Bay. From this point the Spaniards began on June 3, 1539, their explorations of the country to the north and west which was to take nearly three years. The armed men were accompanied by priests and mechanics.

The expedition pressed forward towards the interior through the provinces of western Florida and on October 30, 1539, reached the territory of the Apalachee, where it spent the winter. On March 3, 1540, De Soto broke up his encampment and marched

⁷ *La Relacion* of Cabeza de Vaca was first published at Zamora in 1542; then in 1555, 1749, 1852, and appeared in Italian, French and English. Among many works treating of this expedition, cf. G. Bancroft, *History of the United States*, Boston, 1872, 24 ed., I, 39-41; J. G. Shea in Winsor, *op. cit.*, II, 242-244.

northward, crossing the country of the Cherokees and at the beginning of June reached the site now occupied by the city of Rome, Ga. After resting for four weeks De Soto resumed his march on June 28, reaching on July 26 the Indian town Cosa on the east bank of the Coosa River in Alabama. In a battle with the Mobilian Indians on the site of the present city of Mobile the expedition was nearly ruined. On November 14, 1540, the great explorer marched northward with the remnant of his forces and reached the upper waters of the Yazoo River in Mississippi on December 17, where he remained till March, 1541. Moving westward he discovered the Mississippi River in May, 1541. Crossing the mighty stream he spent a year exploring the country westwards towards the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Returning to the Mississippi River in May, 1542, he died of a fever on its banks on May 21, 1542. The survivors of the expedition descended the Mississippi and reached the Gulf of Mexico. The fate of the Friar Minor remains unknown. Very probably he followed De Soto on his whole march through the six states of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. All we know about him is contained in the three contemporary narratives of De Soto's expedition.⁸

Friar Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., pointed out recently that no Friars Minor took part in the expedition of Pedro Menendez de Aviles which sailed from Spain June 29, 1565, with thirty-four vessels.⁹

The attempts of the Friars Preacher (1549) and of the Jesuits (1566-1572) to establish missions in Florida proved abortive. The barren field was entered by the Friars Minor in 1577. By undaunted perseverance they succeeded in converting in the course of time a great number of Indians in Florida and in the present Georgia. In 1634 the Florida mission counted 44 Indian villages, 35 Franciscan missionaries, and about 30,000 Catholic Indians. By the year 1700 the number of missionaries had increased to 99. Long continued hostilities of the English colonists to the north led eventually to the ruin of the Florida missions. Finally, in 1763,

⁸ On historical works, cf. Winsor, *op. cit.*, II, 288-292; on the expedition, cf. Bancroft, I, 41-59; Shea in Winsor, II, 244-253.

⁹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 66-73; Shea, *op. cit.*, 262-279; Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *The Martyrs of Florida* by Luis Gerónimo De Ore, O.F.M., New York, 1936, proves Holzapfel and Shea err on this point.

the province of Florida was ceded to England and before long the missions of the friars in that province became extinct.¹⁰

The sources on the missions of the friars in Florida are comparatively meagre. First in time come the *Cartas el Rey Felipe III.* written from St. Augustine by the celebrated Franciscan missionary Francisco Pareja and dated March 8, 1599, and October 2, 1599 (first printed in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, I, Madrid, 1914, 357-363.)¹¹

Under date of March 8, 1599, Friar Baltasar Lopez also wrote a *Carta* from St. Augustine to King Philip III. In the *Carta* the friar describes his labors among the Indians during twelve years (first printed in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, I, Madrid, 1914, 363-366).¹²

A more substantial contribution to history is Friar Luis Jeronimo de Ore's *Relacion de los Martires que ha habido en la Florida* (first published in Spain between 1617 and 1620 and reedited in 1931 at Madrid, by Friar Atanasio Lopez, O.F.M., under the title: *Relacion historica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII.* The work has been translated into English by Friar Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., under the title: *The Martyrs of Florida.* New York, 1936).¹³

At the beginning of the XVIIth century Friar Andres de San Miguel wrote a *Relacion de la Florida* (published first by Genaro Garcia at Mexico in 1902 in his work: *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*).¹⁴

On September 22, 1676, Friar Juan Luengo wrote at Madrid an: *Informa al rey Carlos II.*, a valuable report on the missions in Florida (first published in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, I, 366-368).¹⁵

¹⁰ Shea, J. G., *History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, New York, 1855, 40-41; 44-45; 53-76; and *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, New York, 1886, I, 100-182; 454-532; Holzapfel, O.F.M., *Geschichte der Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg, 1909, 418; Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., "Missionary Labors of the Franciscans among the Indians of the Early Days in Florida," in *Franciscan Herald*, I, 1913, Apr.-Dec., and II, 1914, Jan.-Sept.; Marcellino da Civezza, O.F.M., *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, Prato, 1881, VI, 649 ff.

¹¹ Streit, Robert, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Aachen, 1924, II, nn. 1155 and 1158, pp. 277, 279.

¹² *Ibid.*, n. 1156, 279.

¹³ Geiger, *op. cit.*, XI-XVI; Streit, *op. cit.*, II, n. 1423, 394-395; Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio*, n. 473, 127.

¹⁴ Streit, *op. cit.*, Aachen, 1927, III, n. 3157, 1012.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, n. 2116, p. 598.

In 1655 an anonymous Friar wrote: *Memoria de las Poblaciones Principales, Yglesias y Doctrinas que ay en las comberciones de las Provincias de la Florida a cargo de les Religiosos de San Francisco*, which was used by J. G. Shea and quoted in his *History of the Catholic Church*, but was never printed. The present whereabouts of the manuscript is unknown.¹⁶

The poem *La Florida*, written about the beginning of the XVIIth century by Friar Alonso de Escobedo is a rather valuable historical source on the Florida missions. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Madrid but was never published.¹⁷

Towards the end of the XVIIth century Friar Francisco de Jesu wrote: *Memorial sobre agravios hechos a los Indios (de la Florida) y necesidad de su conversion*, which still remains unedited.¹⁸

Friar Atanasio Lopez published in the appendices to his edition of Friar Jeronimo de Ore's *Relacion historica de la Florida* (Madrid, 1933), the following unedited documents on the Florida missions: two *Cartas al rey Felipe III.*, by Friar Francisco Marron (dated 1594, and 1596); a *Carta al rey Felipe III.*, by Friar Baltasar Lopez (dated 1599); an anonymous *Informe* on the martyrdom of the five Friars in Florida (about 1600); *Declaracion* on the Florida missions by Friars Pedro Ruiz and Francisco Pareja (dated 1602); *Cartas* written to the King in 1608 by Friar Pedro Bermejo; *Carta* written to the King in 1596 by Friar Juan de Silva; a *Carta* written to the King in 1609 by Friar Juan de Capilla; a *Carta* written by Friar Jeronimo de Ore about the same time and some other *Cartas* reporting the progress of the Florida missions.

Friar Francisco de San Buenaventura, auxiliary to the Bishop of Cuba, published at Seville about the year 1741 a *Relacion* on the ravages wrought by the English in Florida during the preceding year.¹⁹ Friar Juan Gomez of Palma wrote two petitions (about the year 1700) asking for sixteen missionaries to be placed among the Apalachee Indians of Florida; these petitions were never printed but are preserved in the British Museum of London (Additions, vol. 13, 976).²⁰

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 736.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 365; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 210, pp. 165-167.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 695.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Aachen, 1927, III, n. 451, p. 127; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 608, p. 534.

²⁰ Streit, *op. cit.*, III, p. 371.

With the cession of Florida to England in 1763 the Florida missions came to an end.

NEW MEXICO

Friar Marcos de Niza is rightly styled the "discoverer of New Mexico and Arizona." In 1539 he pushed from Mexico up to the Zuni and in his report about his travels furnishes the first definite information about New Mexico. This *Relacion* **Explorations of the Friars** was printed at Madrid in 1865, and was published in Italian translations at Venice in 1556, and at Prato in 1879; in English translation at London in 1600, and in 1625.²¹

The Friars Marcos de Niza, Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and the lay brother Luis de Ubeda or Escalona accompanied the expedition of Coronado which set out on February 22, 1540, from Mexico and early in July reached the present Zuni pueblos. In September, 1540, Friar Marcos returned to Mexico, having incurred the displeasure of the army which was disappointed in its expectations of loot and gold. The expedition pushed forwards till it reached in July, 1541, the province of Quivira, somewhere near the boundary line between the States of Kansas and Nebraska. Turning back in the latter part of July, 1541, the explorers reached Cicuye (Old Pecos in New Mexico) and later the province of Tiguez on the Rio Grande (near Bernalillo, N. M.). From there the expedition began its return march to Mexico in April, 1542. However, the three Franciscan friars remained behind and evangelized the Indians in the province of Tiguez on the Rio Grande. Friar Juan de Padilla set out to preach the Gospel to the Indians of Quivira and was killed in Texas, becoming the Proto-Martyr of North America. The other two friars, Fr. Juan de la Cruz and Brother Luis de Ubeda or Escalona, were later put to death by the Indians of the province of Tiguez on the Rio Grande.²²

Friar Juan de Padilla did not leave any report on his explorations. We have an anonymous *Relacion de lo que descubrieron*

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, n. 418, pp. 105-106; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 450—420-428; Wadding, *Annales*, ann. 1539, nn. IV-XL. On travels cf. Winsor, *op. cit.*, II, 473-480, 498-499; C. E. Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, Austin, 1936, I, 85-92.

²² Wadding, *op. cit.*, 1539, n. XIII; ann. 1540; n. XV; Winsor, *op. cit.*, 480-502; Streit, *op. cit.*, II, p. 106; Hodge, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, New York, 1907, 282.

Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Juan de Padilla en demande de la mar del Sur (first published in *Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida*, London, 1857, 65-66),²³ besides four contemporary accounts of Coronado's expedition.

Thirty-nine years after the martyrdom of those three friars we meet three other Franciscan friars attempting to convert the Indians of New Mexico. On June 5, 1581, Friar Augustin Rodriguez accompanied by his confrères Juan de Santa

Early Sources of History Haria and Francisco Lopez and nine other men left Mexico marching up to the Rio Grande, where they visited many of the pueblos on both

sides of the river. In the following year the men returned to Mexico, while the friars remained behind and shortly after received the crown of martyrdom.²⁴ Two of the men of this expedition, Philip d'Escalante and Hernando Barrando wrote a: *Relacion Breve y Verdadera del Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico*, which was first published in: *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1877, 230-233.²⁵ Additional information about this exploration is furnished in: *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el Descubrimiento de las Minas de Santa Barbola, cuyo descubrimiento se hizo en virtud de cierta licencia que pidio Fr. Augustin Rodriguez y otros Religiosos Franciscanos; acompanan relaciones de esta descubrimiento y otros documentos de anos 1582 y 1583* (first published in: *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos*, XV, Madrid, 1871, 80-150).²⁶ Archbishop Pedro de Moya of Mexico has a short report about this expedition in his *Carta al Rey Felipe II*, dated Mexico, October 26, 1583 (printed first in: *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1877, 225-230).²⁷

In November of 1582, Antonio de Espejo entered New Mexico with fourteen soldiers and a Franciscan friar called Bernardine Beltram but accomplished nothing. An anonymous *Relacion*, dated from Sant Salvador, April 23, 1583, was first printed in: *Coleccion de documentos ineditos*, XV, Madrid, 1871, 151-191).²⁸

²³ Streit, II, n. 442, p. 112, where other literature is quoted.

²⁴ Wadding, *Annales*, ann. 1580, nn. XLIV-XLVIII; *Cath. Encyclopedia*, VI, 2; Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 522; Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, 158-170.

²⁵ Streit, II, n. 999, p. 235. Translated by Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, New York, 1925, 154 f.

²⁶ Streit, II, n. 1014, p. 238.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, n. 1021, p. 239.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, n. 1031, p. 242. Wadding, *Annales*, 1582, n. IX; Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 522; *Cath. Encyclopedia*, XI, 2.

However, the first permanent Spanish settlement was made in New Mexico only in 1598, when Juan de Onate, accompanied by ten Franciscan friars, and four hundred men, women and children marched up the Rio Grande, and settled at San Juan de los Caballeros, thirty miles north of Santa Fé. **First Permanent Settlement** Here was established the first Spanish Franciscan mission in New Mexico and this was the beginning of the Franciscan missions in that country. By the year 1617 the friars had built eleven churches and had converted 14,000 Indians. For two centuries the Spanish friars labored in New Mexico and bequeathed the Catholic pueblos as a legacy to the Church in our own days.²⁹

A very valuable source of information about the first year of the Franciscan mission in New Mexico is Juan de Onate's: *Treslado de la Posesion de la Nueva Mexico* which was written in 1598 (first printed in: *Coleccion de documentos ineditos*, XVI, Madrid, 1871, 88-141). This document contains among other things the names of the Franciscan missionaries and the places assigned to each by De Onate.³⁰ On October 1, 1601, Friar Juan de Escalona wrote a *Carta de Relacion* on the missions in New Mexico which was printed in Torquemada's, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, Seville, 1615, 673-674.³¹ The celebrated missionary of New Mexico, Friar Jerome de Zarate Salmeron, wrote detailed: *Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido* from 1538 till 1626 (first printed in: *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, III. Series, Mexico, 1856, 1-55) and: *Relacion de las expediciones al Nuevo Mexico*, written in 1624 which was never published.³² A very valuable work on the New Mexico mission is the: *Memorial* of Friar Alonso de Benavides which was published at Madrid in 1630 (109 pp. in 4to), and in French translation (1631), Dutch translation (1631), Latin translation (1634, Quaracchi, 1895, and in: *Annales Minorum*, XXVII, Quaracchi, 1934, 232-258), German translation (about 1634), English translations (in: *Land of Sunshine*, by Lummis, XIII,

²⁹ Wadding, 1596, n. XI; 1604, n. 2. Shea, *Hist. of Cath. Miss.*, 39-68, and *Hist. of Cath. Church*, I, 183-215; 510-525. Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 418, 522 f. In 1700, the Custody of St. Paul in New Mexico counted 126 missionaries in seventeen larger friaries.

³⁰ Streit, II, n. 1152, p. 276. Another *Relacion* of Onate in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 250-265.

³¹ Streit, II, n. 1330, p. 364.

³² Streit, II, n. 1567, p. 437; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 783, p. 646.

Los Angeles, Cal., 1900, and by E. E. Ayer, Chicago, 1916).³³ Friar Stephen de Perea published at Seville in 1632 a: *Verdadera Relacion de la grandiosa conversion que ha aido en el Nuevo Mexico* (8 pp. in fol.).³⁴ Short accounts of the martyrdom of two Franciscan missionaries of New Mexico are given in: Pedro de Frias, O.F.M., *Relacion del Martirio de Treinta y Un Martires*, published at Madrid, 1633 (4 pp. in fol.).³⁵ Friar Rochus Figueredo who went to New Mexico as missionary in 1604, wrote in 1629 a *Relacion del Viage al Nuevo Mexico*, and perhaps later his *Libro de las fundaciones cristianas del Nuevo Mexico* and *Vida de los Varones de la custodia del Nuevo Mexico*.³⁶ Friar Francisco de Ayeta, visitator of the Franciscan missions of New Mexico in 1678, supplied the historical material for the following work: *Oracion Funebre que dixo Doctor D. Ysidro Sarinana y Cuenca el dia 20. de Marzo de 1681 en las exequias de veinte y un Religiosos que murieron a manos de los Indios de la Nueva Mexico en diez de Agosto, 1680. Mexico, 1681* (38 pp., 4to). This sermon is a valuable source of information; we find in it the names of the missionaries and their mission-posts.³⁷ The above-mentioned Friar Alonso de Benavides, besides his *Memorial*, wrote also a *Carta a los Religiosos del Nuevo Mexico* which was printed at Mexico in 1631 (16 pp. in 8vo), Madrid, 1632, Mexico, 1730, and Mexico, 1747.³⁸

The expedition of Ion Diego Dionisio Penalosa to Quivira is placed about 1662. The only account of it is that written by Friar Nicolas de Freytas in 1662 under the title: *Relacion del descubrimiento del pais y ciudad de Quivira, hecho por Don Diego Dionisio de Penalosa*. In 1882 two annotated renderings of this narrative were printed, Accounts of Penalosa's Expedition the one in: Cesario Fernandez Duro's work: *Don Diego de Penalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira*, Madrid, 1882, where the journal is discredited and

³³ *Ibid.*, II, nn. 1583, 1593, 1626, 1627, pp. 441, 444, 455. Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 564, p. 493. A more detailed *Memorial* of 1634 is still unpublished. Cf. Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, 195 note.

³⁴ Streit, II, n. 1612, p. 450. Shea, *Hist. of Cath. Church*, I, 200, quotes a *Secunda Relacion* of Stephen de Perea supposedly published at Seville, 1633. Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 495, p. 450, has 1640 instead of 1632 as date of printing.

³⁵ Streit, II, n. 1618, p. 452.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 694. Cf. n. 2168, p. 613. Wadding, *ann.* 1640, n. 2.

³⁷ Streit, II, n. 2151, p. 606.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 1595, p. 444; n. 1608, p. 448; III, n. 295, p. 81; n. 526, p. 150.

other documents on the same subject are printed; the other, an English version, was issued under the title: *Expedition of Don Diego de Penalosa as Described by Father Nicholas de Freytas*, by J. G. Shea, New York, 1882.³⁹ Friar Francisco de Ayeta wrote in 1676 a *Memorial* on the New Mexico missions which was never printed (Streit, II, n. 2054, 579) and *Carta* of December 20, 1680, likewise still unpublished, and *Carta* of May 28, 1679.

Friar Alonso de Posadas, (also called Paredas) wrote about the year 1686 his: *Utiles y curiosas noticias del Nuevo Mexico, Cibola, y otras naciones confinantes*, which were first printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*. III. Serie. Mexico, 1856 (Parte IV, 211-225), and in Duro's, *Don Diego de Penalosa*, Madrid, 1882, 53-67. Besides, Friar Posadas wrote a *Memorial*, likewise printed in Duro's, *Don Diego de Penalosa*, 69. Friar Nicholas Lopez wrote about 1685 a *Memorial*, printed in Duro's, *Penalosa*, 67-69.⁴⁰ Friar Agustin Cuellar wrote about this time: *Fundaciones que el Orden Serafico en el Nuevo Mexico, con las vidas y martirios de los Martin Arbide y Francisco Letrado*, which work remained unpublished.⁴¹ Unpublished also is the *Relatio ad Regem Hispaniarum super conversione Novi Mexici*, written by Friar Franciscus Paludanus (Francois van den Broeck),⁴² about the end of the seventeenth century. Friar Juan de Espinosa wrote about the same time a *Historia de la Introduction del Evangelio desde el Parral (Mexico) hasta el nuevo Mexico* which was never published.⁴³ Friar Pedro Salmeron's *Diario de la entrada en el Nuevo Mexico*, written towards the end of the sixteenth century, also remained unpublished.⁴⁴ In 1709 the two Friars, Antonio de Olivares and Pedro de Espinosa, undertook an exploration trip into New Mexico which they described in the: *Diario derrotero de la entrada y viaje* (first printed in: Maas, *Viajes de Misioneros Franciscanos a la Conquista del Nuevo Mexico*. Seville, 1915, 50-63).⁴⁵ Friar Carlos Delgado in 1750 wrote an: *Informe sobre las execrables tirannias de los Gobernadores y Alcades mayores contra los Indios de Nuevo Mexico*, which was never published.⁴⁶ Still unpublished is also the: *Noticias lamentables acaecidas en la Nueva Mexico*, written in 1760 by

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, n. 1963, p. 553; III, n. 2735, p. 869. Winsor, *op. cit.*, II, 504.

⁴⁰ Streit, II, n. 2230, —. 631.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 703.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 691.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 725.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 695.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, n. 64, p. 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 362. Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 182, p. 138.

Friar Juan Sans de Lezaun,⁴⁷ and Friar Pedro Serrano's *Informe sobre la Custodia de Nuevo Mexico*, written in 1761.⁴⁸ Friar Manuel Juan de Nepomuceno Trigo wrote in 1750, an *Informe sobre misiones de la Cebolleta y Encinal* and in 1754, an *Informe del gobierno politico y cristiano de las misiones de la Nueva Mexico* both of which remained unpublished.⁴⁹ Friar Francisco Atanasio Dominguez at Santa Fe wrote in 1776 two *Cartas* on the New Mexico missions which were published in 1915 by Otto Maas, O.F.M. in: *Viajes de Misioneros Franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*. Seville, 1915, 91-97. Friar Francisco Garces wrote in 1776 a *Carta* on the New Mexico missions (published in Maas, *Viajes*, Seville, 1915, 91) and in 1786 another *Carta* on the same missions which remained unpublished. Still more valuable in the same friar's *Diario y derrotero en su viaje* (Oct. 1775-Sept. 1776) to the Colorado River and the pueblos of the Moqui Indians in Arizona (printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, II. Serie, I, Mexico, 1854, 225-348). Garces' later *Diario del Viaje al rio Colorado, San Gabriel y Moqui*, dated January 3, 1777, was first printed in Maas', *Viajes*, 134-182 (Streit, III n. 1003, 297).⁵⁰

Friar Mariano Roseta y Peralta wrote from Zuni on July 6, 1776, a *Carta* on his mission (printed in Maas, *Viajes*, 91-93).⁵¹ Friar Silvestre Velez de Escalante wrote in 1776 a diary of his voyage to the Moqui Indians, and two *Cartas* on New Mexico mission (all three printed in Maas, *Viajes*, 64-90).⁵² Friar Juan Agustin Morfi, the celebrated missionary of Texas, wrote also in 1777 a *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico* (printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*. III. Serie. Mexico, 1856), in 1782 a *Descripcion geografica del Nuevo Mexico* (still unpublished), in 1792 *Desordenes que se advierten en el Nuevo Mexico* and: *Noticias historicas del Nuevo Mexico* (both unpublished).⁵³

From July 29, 1776, till January 3, 1777, the two Friars Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez

⁴⁷ Streit, 399. Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 638, p. 549.

⁴⁸ Streit, 400. Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 685, p. 569.

⁴⁹ Streit, p. 405, 410. Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 738, p. 601.

⁵⁰ Streit, nn. 986-990, p. 288. The Diary was translated and edited with notes by Elliott Coues, New York, 1900 (Streit, III, n. 3135, p. 1009.)

⁵¹ Streit, III, n. 994, p. 290.

⁵² *Ibid.*, nn. 995-997, p. 290.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, n. 1005, pp. 292-293.

explored the country north of Mexico in search of a route from Santa Fe, N.M., to Monterey, California, and in
Friars in Utah their exploration were the first to set foot on the
and Colorado soil of Colorado and Utah. They described their travels in: *Diario y de rotero de los nuevos descubrimientos*, which was first printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, Serie II, 1. Mexico, 1854, 375-558, and reprinted in Otto Maas, O.F.M., *Viajes de Franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*. Sevilla, 1915, 98-133,⁵⁴ Friar Silvestre Velez de Escalante gives us in his *Carta* a very valuable inventory of all documents found in the archives of the Franciscan monastery at Santa Fe. The *Carta*, dated April 2, 1778, is printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, III. Serie, Parte 4. Mexico, 1856, 113-208.⁵⁵ The *Declaracion* of Friar Juan Miguel Menchero gives the history of all mission-posts from 1628 till 1780. His *Peticion sobre conversion de los Navajoes* is also a valuable report (both unpublished).⁵⁶ An anonymous friar wrote an: *Investigacion sobre la muerte de los Religiosos enviados a la reduccion de los gentiles del Rio Colorado* (killed in Arizona July 17, 1781) which is still unedited.⁵⁷ Friar Damian Martinez wrote a *Carta* in 1792 which is a valuable report on the missions and was printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Nueva Mexico*, 450-483.⁵⁸

Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt published a popular story of the New Mexico missions under the title: *Missionary Labors of the Franciscans among the Indians of New Mexico of the Early Days*, in: *Franciscan Herald*, VI-X (Chicago, 1918-1922), June 1918-January 1922. Friar E. Meyer is the author of a short history of the missions, entitled: *St. Francis and Franciscans in New Mexico* (unprinted, about 1930). Friar Otto Maas published many unpublished documents on the missions in: *Missions de Nuevo Mejico. Documentos del Archivo General de Indias*. Madrid, 1930. Marcellino da Civezza treats the missions in New Mexico very inadequately in his *Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane*, VI, 660 sq., Prato, 1881, VII, Parte II, 439 sq., Prato, 1891, 80-148, Firenze, 1895.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 1010, p. 294. Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 751, p. 625.

⁵⁵ Streit, III, 1019, p. 298, 410; Castaneda, I, 391.

⁵⁶ Streit, III, pp. 382-383, 410; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 407, pp. 396-397.

⁵⁷ Streit, III, p. 412.

⁵⁸ Streit, III, p. 381; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, San Francisco, 1888, XII, 273 f.

ARIZONA

The first white man to set foot in Arizona was Friar Marcos de Niza who discovered that territory in 1538. Two years later, August 1540, Friar Juan de Padilla, the Proto-Martyr of America, visited the villages of the Moqui Indians in Arizona.⁵⁹

Early Friars The first regular missionaries of Arizona were likewise Franciscan friars. No sooner had the friars begun the regular evangelization of the Indians of New Mexico than they pushed over to Arizona, where they labored successfully among the Moqui and Zuni Indians, so that the missions in Arizona formed part of the New Mexico missions and the documents bearing upon the latter also include the former.⁶⁰ In 1898 the Friars of the Cincinnati Province resumed the missionary activities in Arizona by taking over the care of the Indian missions among the Navajos. In the course of time they reestablished missions also among other tribes.

This restoration of the ancient Indian missions by American friars also excited interest in the history of the old missions. In 1899 Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt published at Harbor Springs, Michigan, a history of those missions under the title of: *The Franciscans in Arizona*. In the same year the late Friar Anselm Weber began to publish monthly reports about the Navajo Indian mission in the *Sendbote des Goettlichen Herzens Jesu* (XXVI, Cincinnati, Ohio) which were continued by other friars up to date. In 1913 the friars who labored in the Navajo mission began to publish a periodical in the interest of those missions under the title: *Die Franziskaner Missionen des Suedwestens* which is printed at St. Michael's, Arizona. The periodical: *The Indian Sentinel*, published since 1902 in the interest of all Indian missions in the United States, carries many articles written by the friars on their Indian missions of Arizona and other States.⁶¹ The monthly magazine: *St. Anthony's Messenger* carries a serial article on the Navajos under the title: *The First American* (August, 1935, 43, to date).

The friars explored large tracts of the States of Colorado and Utah, yet no permanent missions seemed to have been established

⁵⁹ Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, 85, 96.

⁶⁰ Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 523 f.; Shea, *Hist. of Cath. Church*, I, 526-532.

⁶¹ Streit, III, n. 2665, p. 851.

in those regions. Accounts of those explorations are given by Friar Juan Agustin de Morfi in his: *Informe sobre el viaje de los Padres Dominguez y Escalante hacia Monterey y California*, written about the year 1778, but still unpublished.⁶²

TEXAS

Franciscan friars were likewise among the earliest explorers of the State of Texas. Friar Juan Suarez and his companions of the Nervaez expedition to Florida were shipwrecked on October 31, 1528, while coasting on the waters of Texas, and soon after perished in Texas.⁶³ If the surmise of C. E. Castaneda is accepted as true, Friar Juan de Padilla, the Proto-martyr of North America, suffered martyrdom on the plains of Texas, in November, 1544. His two companions: Friars Juan de la Cruz and Escalona, had likewise traveled over parts of Texas.⁶⁴ Friar Juan de Porres who accompanied the de Soto expedition died in 1542 or 1543 in the endless wanderings over the vast plains of eastern and northern Texas.⁶⁵ The Rodriguez expedition of 1581 consisting of the three friars Agustin Rodriguez, Juan de Santa Maria, Francisco Lopez and nine soldiers in their explorations touched Texas at certain points.⁶⁶ The Espejo expedition of 1582 with Friar Bernardino Beltram crossed over into Texas on December 10 of the same year.⁶⁷ Two friars of the Onate expedition in 1598 passed over from New Mexico into the great plains of western Texas and two other friars in 1601 assisted in the exploration of western Texas and parts of Oklahoma.⁶⁸

Mission work in Texas was first begun by Friar Andres de Olmos in 1544 but his endeavors were shortlived. Eighty five years elapsed, before the friars made a second attempt to convert the Indians of Texas. It was in 1629 that Friar Juan de Salas visited the Jumanos in company of Friar Diego Lopez but returned the same year. In 1632 Friar Juan de Salas undertook a second expedition of the Jumanos in company of Friar Juan de Ortega and again returned the same year.⁶⁹

More extended missionary activity among the Indians of Texas

⁶² *Ibid.*, n. 1005, p. 293.

⁶³ Castaneda, *op. cit.*, 44 f., 52-59.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 110-115.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-175.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-194.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-204.

was begun in 1670 by Friar Juan Larios and continued single-handed for three years. In 1673 Friar Esteban Martinez and the two lay brothers Juan Barrero and de la Cruz were sent to assist him. After 1676 the missionary activity of the friars lagged somewhat, but never ceased entirely. Finally in 1689 it culminated in the first permanent establishment of missions.⁷⁰

Friar Juan Larios and his companions described their missionary activity in a number of *Cartas* first discovered and used by Friar Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., in his study: *Forerunners of De Leon's Expedition to Texas*, published in: *Preliminary Studies*, edited by the Texas Catholic Historical Society, 1932.

The *Carta* written by Friar Juan Larios on February 26, 1674, is preserved in Archivo San Francisco el Grande in Mexico, vol. I, 82-85, and the *Carta* of December 30, 1674, is preserved in the same vol. I, 141-149. Friar Manuel de la Cruz wrote a *Carta* on May 29, 1674, now preserved in the same vol. I, 118-125 of the same archive. *Cartas* of Friar Juan Larios of January 23, and March 2, 1674, are preserved in the same vol. I, 63-78, and 111-113. Friar Francisco Penasco de Lozano wrote a *Carta* on July 7, 1674, likewise preserved in the same vol. I, 126-128. Friar Francisco Basan is also the author of a *Carta* dated July 19, 1674, and preserved in the same vol. I, 129-134.⁷¹

Meanwhile Friar Alonso de Benavides had succeeded in 1630 in converting some Indians in the district of El Paso and Friar Antonio de Arteaga made a temporary establishment in that region in the same year 1630. Some time between

El Paso and District 1656 and 1659 Friar Garcia de San Francisco de Zuniga, accompanied by Friars Juan Cabal and

Francisco Perez, made a second attempt to establish a mission among the Mansos in the district of El Paso but soon abandoned the enterprise. Again in 1659 the Friars Garcia de San Francisco de Zuniga and Juan de Salazar set out to reestablish the mission among the Mansos. On December 8, 1659, the Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was founded at El Paso. Friar Alonso de Posadas gave a detailed report on the progress of this mission in his *Carta* of October 8, 1685, preserved in the National Archives of Mexico, in: *Autos sobre los Socorros*, vol. 37, 359 sq.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-242.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 394, 396, 398.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 246-250.

On February 15, 1685 the French under command of de la Salle planted a colony on Matagorda Bay. Among the colonists were three friars: Zénobius Mambré, Maximus Le Clercq, and Anastasius Douay. Two years later the colony was abandoned and the French left Texas to the Spaniards.⁷³

With the establishment of missions in eastern Texas in 1689 under the leadership of Friar Damian Massanet the missionary movement was placed on a firm basis. In the courses of the succeeding one hundred and forty years the State of Texas became dotted with numerous mission posts and the work of friars was expanding in all directions. However, the Mexican Independence put an end to the Franciscan missions during the years 1833 to 1846.⁷⁴

Friar Damian Massanet (Mazanet) wrote a number of *Cartas* on the Texas missions during the years 1689 to 1694. Many of them were translated and published by H. E. Bolton in his work: *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York, 1925), 284-285, 353-357, 359, 362-364, 366, 368-369, 375, 380-382, 384, 414-417; by Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt in: *Franciscan Herald*, vol. III, Chicago, 1915, 24, 64; by Lilia M. Casis in: *The Quarterly*, vol. II, 311, April, 1899. Other *Cartas* remain still unpublished, as those of August 6, 1689, September, 1689, June 14, 1693, and February 17, 1694.⁷⁵ Friar Massanet is also credited with the authorship of the: *Diario del viage que hizeron los Padres Misioneros* (May 16-August 2, 1691).⁷⁶

Friar Toribio Garcia de Sierra wrote a *Carta* to the Viceroy on August 9, 1689, which is preserved in the archives of Seville and still unpublished.⁷⁷ Friar Damian Massanet and the other missionaries wrote on July 19, 1691, a: *Parecer* in favor of renewing the march to the Tejas mission in order to give it relief.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-300. Marion Habig, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, New York, 1934, pp. 194-205.

⁷⁴ Shea, *Hist. of Cath. Miss.*, pp. 45-46; 84-87; *Hist. of Cath. Church*, I, pp. 479-509. Marcellino, *Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane*, Prato, 1883, VI, pp. 649-668; *passim*, vols. VIII, IX; Firenze, 1895, pp. 56 ff. Holz-
apfel, *op. cit.*, 524-527; Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 343-377, and II, pp. 1-347.

⁷⁵ Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 332 f., 343, 360, 374, 376, 386, 397.

⁷⁶ Streit, II, pp. 710, 735; Bancroft, *Hist. of Pacific States*, X, pp. 377, 401-404; and "Preliminary Studies of the Texas Cath. Hist. Society," II, no. 1, pp. 48-52; and Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 364 note 39.

⁷⁷ Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 332, 343, 395.

This document is preserved in the National Archives of Mexico and still unpublished.⁷⁸

The renewed missionary activity of the friars at the beginning of the eighteenth century occasioned valuable contributions to history. Friar Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares wrote *Cartas* of November 20, 1716, December, 1716, June 5, 1717 (two letters), June 22, 1718, and one undated. He also wrote a *Petition* to the Viceroy, a *Memorandum*, a *Report*, an *Informe*, and two *Memo-rias*.⁷⁹ Much of this material was used and some translated in: *The Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre Expedition of 1709* by Rev. Gabriel Tous (Austin, Texas, 1930) in: *Preliminary Studies* of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, I, No. 3.⁸⁰

Friar Isidro Felix Espinosa wrote unpublished *Cartas* of July 22, 1716, July 26, 1716, November 20, 1717, February 28, 1718 (two letters), and July 2, 1719. Besides he wrote a *Diario derrotero de la nueva entrada a Provincia de los Tejos* (1716) which was translated by Tous in *Preliminary Studies* of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, I, No. 4, April, 1930.⁸¹ Friar Francisco Hidalgo wrote *Cartas* under dates of January 17, 1711, October 6, 1716, and April 8, 1718, and January 14, 1724.⁸² Friar Matias Saenz de San Antonio wrote a *Petition* to the King in May, 1729,⁸³ and in May, 1724 a report on the distress of the Texas missions.⁸⁴ The *Petition* is unpublished. Friar Manuel Castellanos wrote an unpublished *Carta* of October 6, 1716.⁸⁵ One of the greatest missionaries of Texas was Friar Antonio Margil de Jesus. He is the author of *Cartas* of February 23, 1716, February 26, 1716, February 13, 1718, July 2, 1719, December 26, 1719, June 14, 1724, and July 20, 1724.⁸⁶ Friar Agustin Patron y Guzman also wrote a *Carta* dated April 8, 1722.⁸⁷ A *Carta* of Friar Joseph Diez dated February 10, 1717, is still unpublished.⁸⁸ From Friar Miguel Nunez de Haro we have a testimony on the missions under date of June 14,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 398.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 72, 80, 127, 359, 360, 361.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 350, 357; Streit, III, n. 315, 87.

⁸² Castaneda, II, pp. 27, 60, 97, 195.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 365.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111; Streit, III, n. 182, pp. 51 ff.

⁸⁵ Castaneda, II, p. 67.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116, 200, 359.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

1724.⁸⁹ Friar Francisco de Celis wrote a *Diario derrotero de la entrada que hizo a la Provincia de los Tejos* (April 9, 1718-February 10, 1719) published in: *Universidad de Mexico*, V, Nos. 25-28, 1932-1933, and translated and published in the *Quivira Society Publications*, V.⁹⁰

Friar Pedro Perez de Mezquia wrote *Cartas* dated June 2, 1725, June 22, 1725, November 12, 1729, May 4, 1731, and August 8, 1731.⁹¹ Friar Miguel Sevillano de Paredes wrote a *Carta* of September 7, 1729; a *Representacion acerca adelantamiento de la conversion de los infideles* of January, 1726; a *Representacion* to the King of August 25, 1728, and a *Transumpto de un Memorial al Rey* of November 12, 1729.⁹² Friar Joseph Gonzalez wrote *Cartas* of January 10, 1724, March 18, 1824, June 5, 1724 and a *Certificasion* of January 10, 1724.⁹³ Besides these reports written by individual friars we also have collective documents as the *Representacion hecha por los Padres Misioneros* of July 22, 1716, and the *Representacion de los Religiosos* of July 20, 1729.⁹⁴

Most of the documents mentioned above still remain unpublished but were used by C. E. Castaneda in: *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*. Historical works of later date are the *Relacion sobre los muertos de los Padres en San Saba*, written in 1758

Works of by Friar Miguel Molina (unpublished),⁹⁵ the:
Later Date *Diaria en la visita que hizo de las misiones de la Provincia de los Texas*, written in 1767 by Friar Gasper Jose Solis and *Informes de misioneros*, written about the same time by the same friar (both unpublished).⁹⁶ Of still greater importance are the works of Friar Juan Agustin Morfi, namely: *Historia de la Provincia de Texas de 1673-1779*, still unpublished but made accessible in an English translation by Carlos Eduardo Castaneda under the title: *Morfi's History of Texas translated with a biographical introduction and annotations*. Albuquerque, 1935. 2 vols. (Quivira Society Publications, VI), and *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Texas*, notes collected for the foregoing work in 1771 and succeeding years, and *Extracto de la Historia de Tejas*, written in 1777, and *Diario del Viage a la*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 355 ff.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 362.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 238, 363; Streit, III, pp. 12, 415.

⁹⁵ Streit, III, p. 384.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 194-198, 258.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

Provincia de Tejas, written in 1783 and published in: *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. III. Serie. Mexico, 1856; it is the only work of Morfi edited thus far.⁹⁷ Friar Jose Francisco Lopez wrote in 1785 a report on the missions: *Condicion de las misiones de Texas*, translated partially in H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, X. San Francisco, 1885, 632-633.⁹⁸ About the same time Friar Antonio de San Buenaventura wrote a *Diario del Viaje desde Rio Grande a la parte setentrional de la N. E. hasta la Provincia de los Teguas o Tejas* which is still unpublished.⁹⁹

Unlike the missions in New Mexico, the American friars did not take over the missions of their Spanish confrères in Texas. The friars, however, are at present active at many places in Texas. In 1901 Friar E. J. Schmitt issued a *Catalogue of Franciscan Missionaries in Texas* (Austin, Texas).¹⁰⁰ Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt published a popular account of the: *Missionary Labors of the Franciscans among the Indians of Texas of the Early Days*, in the: *Franciscan Herald*, II-V, 1914-1917 (October, 1914-November, 1917).

CALIFORNIA

As in other provinces, so, too, in California, Franciscan friars accompanied the explorers. Hernando Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, was the discoverer of Lower California in 1533. In this first expedition three friars accompanied the explorers, and there were friars in the second (1535-1537) and third (1539) expeditions to Lower California. Six friars accompanied Sebastian Vizcaino on his expedition to Lower California in 1596, and two friars accompanied the expedition of Luzenilla in 1668.¹⁰¹ In 1769 the friars opened the missions in Upper California or California proper, where they succeeded in establishing a chain of mission-posts which were to flourish till the secularization of the missions by the government in 1834.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Castaneda, *op. cit.*, I, p. 387; II, p. 360. Streit, III, nn. 1005, 1060, pp. 292, 310.

⁹⁸ Streit, III, n. 1073, p. 314.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 3148, p. 1011.

¹⁰¹ Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, 1908, I, pp. 18-24, 36-43, 64.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Vols. I-IV, 1908-1915; Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 525-527.

Friar Pedro Valades in 1686 wrote a *Mapa de todos descubierto en las Californias, y de la predication de los PP. Jesuitas en ellas*, which work remained unpublished.¹⁰³ Friar Juan Crespi accom-

panied the expedition of Captain Rivera to Monterey in California in 1768 and 1769, and described it in **Early Writings** the following works: *Prima expedicion de tierra al descubrimiento del puerto de San Diego 1769* (printed in: Documentos para la historia de Mexico, IV, Serie, VII, Mexico, 1857), and: *Viage de la Expedicion de tierra de San Diego a Monterey* (printed in: Documentos para la historia de Mexico, IV, Serie, VII, Mexico, 1857), and: *Diario de vuelta del puerto de San Francisco, 1769* (printed in: Documentos, *op. cit.*, 481-501; English in: *Los Angeles Times* 1898). Later expeditions he described in: *Diario del registro de San Francisco 1772* (printed in: Documentos para la historia de Mexico, IV, Serie VI, Mexico, 1857), and in: *Expedicion y registro del viage de 1774* (printed in: Documentos para la historia de Mexico, IV, Serie, VI, Mexico, 1857). Three of his works remained unpublished, namely: *Copia de cartas sobre las expediciones de tierra en el anno 1769*, *Copia de lo vio la expedicion de mar, sacado del Diario original que se formo a bordo de la Fregata Santiago* (1774), and: *Diario de la expedicion de mar que hizo la Fregata Santiago* (1774).¹⁰⁴ Friar Juan Diaz wrote a Diary of Anza's expedition of 1774 which was first published by H. E. Bolton in: *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, Berkeley, Cal., 1930. This Diary goes from January 8 to April 8, 1774, and May 3 to May 26, 1774, and is given in English translation. Three *Cartas* of the same friar are published by Bolton, *op. cit.*, V, Berkeley, 1930.

Friar Francisco Garces also wrote a Diary of Anza's expedition in three parts (January 6-April 26, 1774, and January 8 to April 5, 1774, and May 22-June 8, 1774) which likewise is published in English translation by Bolton in: *Anza's California Expeditions*, II. Five *Cartas* of the same friar were published by Bolton, *op. cit.*, V.; they were written in the years 1774-1776. His later Diary of the expedition through New Mexico, Arizona, and California in the years 1775 and 1776 was published in English translation by E. Cones at New York in 1900.

¹⁰³ Streit, II, p. 729.

¹⁰⁴ Streit, III, nn. 902, 903, 904, 946, 971, pp. 264 f., 278, 283; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 168, pp. 132-133; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 3-86, 146-153; Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary, Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774*, Berkeley, Calif., 1927.

Friar Junipero Serra, the Founder of the California missions, is the author of a diary of the Portola expedition in 1769: *Diario de el viaje para los puertos de San Diego y Monterey* (printed in English in: *Out West*, Los Angeles, 1902) and the author of a Diary of the Perez expedition of 1774 (printed in: *Documents from the Suro Collection*, II, Part 1. Los Angeles, 1891). A *Carta* of 1772 is printed in: Palou's *Relacion Historica*. Mexico, 1787, 136-139. Three *Cartas* written 1774-1776 were published by Bolton in *Anza's California Expeditions*, V. A *Representacion al Virey Bucareli* dated 1773, is printed in: Palou's, *Noticias de la Antigua California*, I, Mexico, 1857, 518-534, and in translation in: *Out West*, San Francisco, 1902. Eight other historical works written by Friar Junipero Serra on the California missions remained unpublished, viz.: *Memorial* of April 22, 1773, *Representacion* of May 21, 1773, *Informe* of 1774, *Informe* of February 5, 1775, *Notas* of 1776, *Correspondencia* of 1777-1782, *Cartas* of 1778-1781, and *Escritos autografos*.¹⁰⁵

Friar Tomas de la Pena in 1774 wrote a *Diario* describing the voyage of the Santiago to the northwest coast of the Pacific ocean under Juan Perez (printed in: *Documents from the Suro Collection*, II, Part I, Los Angeles, 1891).¹⁰⁶ Friar Tomas Eixarch wrote a *Diary* of the second Anza expedition from December 4, 1775 to May 1, 1776; it is edited by H. E. Bolton in: *Anza's California Expeditions*, III, Berkeley, 1930.

Friar Francisco Palou (died in 1789 or 1790) is the most famous historian of the California missions. In 1772 he wrote an: *Informe* about the state of the missions in California (printed later in his work: *Noticias de la Antigua California*, I, Mexico, 1857, 138-179). In December, 1773 he wrote another *Informe* on the missions of Monterey (printed likewise in his: *Noticias*, II, Mexico, 1857, 11-42). In 1774 he wrote a *Diary* of the first expedition of Anza covering the period from November 23 to December, 1774 (printed in Bolton's *Anza California Expeditions*, II. A *Carta* of 1774 is likewise printed in Bolton's *Anza Cali-*

¹⁰⁵ Streit, III, nn. 911, 949, pp. 267, 279, 282; Abigail H. Fitch, *Junipero Serra: the Man and His Work*, Chicago, 1914; Agnes Repplier, *Junipero Serra: Pioneer Colonist of California*, Chicago, 1933; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, pp. xxxv, 153.

for *California Expeditions*, V. Another *Carta* of August 15, 1783, is printed in: *Historical Magazine*, IV, Boston, 1860, 67. Of greater importance is his: *Relacion historica de la vida y apostolicas tareas del Fray Junipero Serra y de las misiones que fundo en la California Septentrional y nuevos establecimientos de Monterey*, Mexico, 1787. (English translation by J. Adam, San Francisco, 1884, and by C. Scott Williams, Pasadena, Cal., 1913.) The greatest work of Friar Palou is: *Noticias de la Nueva California*, published at Mexico in 1857 (2 vols.), and at San Francisco in 1874 (4 vols.). English translation by H. E. Bolton was published at Berkeley, Cal., in 1926 (4 vols.). Bolton calls the work of Palou "the best single source for the history of California from 1767 till 1783."¹⁰⁷

About the year 1770 Friar Juan Gonzales Vizcaino wrote: *Razon del estado decodente en que se hallan las misiones que teniam en California los PP. Jesuitas* which is still unpublished.¹⁰⁸

In 1770 the Franciscan friar who visited the California missions wrote an: *Informe contra los bienes de temporalides sobre las misiones de California* (still unpublished).¹⁰⁹ About the same time Friar Bernardino de Olivares wrote: *Tratado de la utilidad de los Frayles Franciscanos para la conquista de la California* (still unpublished).¹¹⁰ Friar Rafael Verger wrote the following manuscripts: *Informe sobre el estado de las misiones de Monterey y Puerto de S. Diego de Californias*, dated October 27, 1771; *Estado y descripcion de las misiones de Californias, que estaban a cargo de los PP. Jesuitas*, likewise of 1771; and: *Informe sobre el numero de los Frailes y estado de las misiones*, dated August (or October), 22, 1771.¹¹¹

Friar Pedro Font gave us a short *Diario* of Anza's second expedition covering the period from September 29, 1775, to June 23, 1776, and a larger *Diario* covering the period from September 29, 1775, to May 11, 1776, which were published by Bolton in: *Anza's*

¹⁰⁷ Streit, III, nn. 948, 961, 1061, 1094, 2438, 2636, pp. 278, 279, 282, 310, 319, 796, 846; *Francisco Palou's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Ven. Father Junipero Serra*, with introduction by G. W. James, Pasadena, 1913; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, *passim*, and Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 484, pp. 443-444.

¹⁰⁸ Streit, III, p. 408; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, I, 333, 338, and II, 18, 20, 60 f., 63.

¹⁰⁹ Streit, III, p. 411.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 387; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 807, p. 660.

¹¹¹ Streit, III, pp. 407, 410; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 138, 145, 293, 295, 653-655.

California Expeditions, III and IV., Berkeley, 1930. A *Carta* bearing on the same expedition was likewise published by Bolton in: *Anza's California Expeditions*, V. H. E. Bolton also published an English translation of the larger *Diary* under the title: *Font's complete Diary, a Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco Translated from the Original Spanish Manuscript*, Berkeley, Cal., 1931.

Friar Fermin Francisco de Lasuen (died in 1803), one of the greatest missionaries of California, is the author of ten historical MSS. which remained unpublished, viz.: *Carta* of 1768, *Informe* of 1783, *Carta* of 1784, *Carta* of 1791, *Informes bienales de las misiones* 1793-1802, *Informe* of 1796, *Carta* of 1797, *Representacion* of 1800, *Informe* of 1802, and *Correspondencia* of many years.¹¹² Friar Pablo José de Mugartegui wrote a *Carta*, dated July 2, 1775 (printed in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, IV, Madrid, 1915, 104-111); an undated *Carta* (printed *op. cit.*, 113-120), *Estado general de las misiones de la Nueva California a fines de 1786* (printed *op. cit.*, 111-112); and *Carta* of 1794 which was never printed.¹¹³

Friar Antonio Paterna wrote: *Informes de la Mision de Santa Barbara* of the years 1787 and 1792 respectively which were never published.¹¹⁴ Friar Manuel Fernandez wrote in 1798 a *Carta* which remained unpublished.¹¹⁵ Likewise in 1798 Friar Antonio de la Concepcion Horra wrote a *Representacion al Virey* misrepresenting the missionary work of the friars of California; it is still unpublished.¹¹⁶ Friar Miguel Lull wrote in 1799 an *Exposicion* about the reduction of missionaries in California (still unprinted).¹¹⁷ Friar Vicente Francisco Sarria (died in 1835) wrote seven historical accounts on the California missions all of which remained unpublished; *Exhortacion pastoral* of 1813, *Carta pastoral* of 1817, *Informe* of 1817, *Informe* of 1819, *Argumento contra el traslado de San Francisco* of 1823, *Defensa del P. Luis Martinez* of 1830, and *Escritos sueltos*.¹¹⁸ In 1823 Friar Jose Altimira wrote a *Journal of a Mission-founding Expedition* which

¹¹² Streit, III, 377-378; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 127, 168, 186, 214-215, 345 f., 464 f.

¹¹³ Streit, III, pp. 385, 488; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 126, 145, 178, 214 f., 287, 359, 405, 454, 489.

¹¹⁴ Streit, III, p. 391; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 84, 90, 93, 128, 215, 434.

¹¹⁵ Streit, III, p. 367.

¹¹⁶ Streit, III, p. 375; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II.

¹¹⁷ Streit, III, p. 380; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II.

¹¹⁸ Streit, III, p. 399; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II and III.

was published in: Hutching's *Illustrated California Magazine*, V, San Francisco, 1861, 58, 115.¹¹⁹ The Diary of Friar Narcisso Duran to the Sacramento River of 1817 was published, Spanish text with English translation, by C. E. Chapman at Berkeley, Cal., 1911 (Engelhardt, II, xxxv).

The first Bishop of California, Friar Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno (died in 1846), published a *Carta Pastoral a los misioneros* at Mexico City in 1840.¹²⁰ Friar Geronimo Boscana (died in 1831) wrote the manuscript: *Relacion historica de la creencia, usos, costumbres de les Indios de esta Mision de San Juan Capistrano*, which was published in English in: *Life in California during a Residence of Several Years in That Territory*, New York, 1846, 231-341.¹²¹

Friar Diego Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas published in 1819 at Madrid a *Sermon* on the four Friars Killed by Yumas in California in July 1781. (Streit, III, n. 1500, 514, Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio* n. 98, 69) This sermon is of great historical value.

A rather large number of historical works on the California missions never saw the light, e. g., Friar Francisco Dumetz's (died in 1811) *Cartas*, written from 1771 till 1831;¹²² Baldomero Lopez's *Carta* of 1791; *Queja's* of 1819; Report on the Missions of 1820 and Instructions to the Missionaries of 1820;¹²³ José Francisco de Paula Senan's (died in 1823) *Respuesta al Virey* of 1796; *Informes biennales de misiones* 1811-1814, 1820-1822, and *Circular* of 1815;¹²⁴ Estevan Tapia's *Expedicion* of 1798; *Informes biennales de misiones* of 1805-1810; *Noticias* of 1808; *Parecer* of 1810; *Replica de Estevan Tapia y Juan Cortes*, and *Cartas del Fraile Estevan Tapia*;¹²⁵ José Gasol's *Letras Patentes* containing instructions for the missionaries, written in 1806;¹²⁶ Juan Martin's *Visita a los Tulareños* of 1804;¹²⁷ Ramon Abella's *Noticia de una batalla entre Cristianos y Gentiles* of 1807; *Diario*

¹¹⁹ Streit, III, n. 2215, p. 728; Engelhardt, III.

¹²⁰ Streit, III, n. 2271, p. 749; Engelhardt, III.

¹²¹ Streit, III, n. 2326, p. 763; Engelhardt, II and III.

¹²² Streit, III, p. 949; Engelhardt, II.

¹²³ Streit, III, p. 953; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹²⁴ Streit, III, p. 962; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹²⁵ Streit, III, p. 963; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹²⁶ Streit, III, p. 951; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹²⁷ Streit, III, p. 955; Engelhardt, II, 621.

of 1811; and *Correspondencia*; ¹²⁸ Mariano Payeras' *Comunicacion* of 1810; *Informes biennales 1815-1820*; *Instruccion* of 1817; *Circular a los Padres* 1817-1820; *Noticia de un Viage* of 1818; *Peticion al Gobernador* of 1819; *Informe de las 19 misiones* of 1820; three *Memorials* of 1820-1821; *Memoria* of 1821; *Cordillera* of 1821; and his *Correspondencia*; ¹²⁹ José Viader's two *Diarios* of 1810, and *Cartas*; ¹³⁰ Marcellino Marquinez's *Cartas al Gobernador Sola* of 1821; ¹³¹ Blas Ordoz's *Diario de la expedicion de Arguello* of 1821, and *Cartas*; ¹³² Narciso Duran's *Proyectos de secularizacion* of 1833 and *Informe de actual estado de las misiones* of 1844; ¹³³ Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno's *Parecer sobre el proyecto de secularizacion* of 1833 and *Reglas para gobierno interior de las ex-misiones* of 1835; ¹³⁴ Luis Antonio Martinez's (died in 1834) *Correspondencia*; ¹³⁵ Magin Catala's (died in 1830) *Correspondencia*; ¹³⁶ Pedro Cabot's (died in 1836) *Cartas*; ¹³⁷ Felipe Arroya de la Cuesta's (died in 1840) *Cartas*; ¹³⁸ Tomas Eleuterio Estenega's (died in 1847) *Cartas*; ¹³⁹ and Juan Cabot's (died in 1864) *Cartas*.¹⁴⁰

The American friars who continued the missionary work of their Spanish brethren furnished a first-class historian of the older Spanish missions of California in the person of the late Friar Zephyrin Engelhardt. As early as the year 1897 **Engelhardt's** Friar Engelhardt published the work: *The Franciscans in California*, at Harbor Springs, Michigan, **Unparalleled** which was to be the forerunner of his standard work **Work** on the subject: *Misssions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols, San Francisco, 1908-1915; a second edition was printed at Santa Barbara, Cal., 1929-1930). The work was continued in a series of monographs on the various local missions, namely: *San Diego Mission*, San Francisco, 1920; *San Luis Rey Mission*, San Francisco, 1921; *San Juan Capistrano Mission*, Los

¹²⁸ Streit, III, p. 943; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹²⁹ Streit, III, p. 958; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹³⁰ Streit, III, p. 964; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹³¹ Streit, III, p. 955; Engelhardt, III, 47.

¹³² Streit, III, p. 957; Engelhardt, III.

¹³³ Streit, III, p. 949; Engelhardt, III, IV.

¹³⁴ Streit, III, p. 951; Engelhardt, III, IV.

¹³⁵ Streit, III, p. 955; Engelhardt, III.

¹³⁶ Streit, III, p. 9241, 1027; Engelhardt, II, III.

¹³⁷ Streit, III, p. 946; Engelhardt, III.

¹³⁸ Streit, III, p. 943; Engelhardt, III.

¹³⁹ Streit, III, p. 950; Engelhardt, III, IV.

¹⁴⁰ Streit, III, p. 946; Engelhardt, III.

Angeles, Cal., 1922; *Santa Barbara Mission*, San Francisco, 1923; *San Francisco*, or *Mission Dolores*, Chicago, 1924; *San Fernando Rey*, Chicago, 1927; *San Gabriel Mission*, San Gabriel, Cal., 1927; *San Miguel Archangel*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1929; *San Antonio de Padua*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1929; *Nuestra Senora de la Soledad*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1929; *San Buenaventura*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1930; *Mission San Juan Bautista*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1931; *Mission La Concepcion Purisima*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1932; *Mission Santa Inez*, Santa Barbara, Cal., 1932; *Mission San Luis Obispo*, Santa Barbara, 1933, and: *Mission San Carlos*, edited by Fr. Felix Pudlowski, O.F.M., Santa Barbara, 1934. Smaller historical works by Fr. Engelhardt are: *True History of the Missions and Missionaries of California*, Watsonville, Cal.; *The Holy Man of Santa Clara: Life, Virtues and Miracles of Fr. Magin Catala*, O.F.M., San Francisco, 1909; "Chief Pasqual of the Yumas," in: *St. Anthony Almanac*, 1922, Calicoon, N. Y., 1922, pp. 22-28; Father Zephyrin defends Fr. Juan de Santa Maria from Mecham, in: *Southwestern Catholic*, I, nn. 14-15, Santa Fé, 1922, and: "An Interesting Tribe," in: *St. Anthony Almanac*, 1921, Calicoon, N. Y., 1921.¹⁴¹

Dragoni, Ladislao, O.F.M., in *Il mio pellegrinaggio attraverso l'Alta California*, Arezzo, 1930, describes his impressions about California and makes comparisons with conditions existing during the missionary period. The same friar published also: *Cenni storici dell'Alta California*, Arezzo, 1930, on the glorious missionary work of the Spanish Friars. Steck, Francis Borgia, O.F.M., *Fray Junipero Serra and the Military Heads of California*, Chicago, 1926. As early as 1886 Friar J. J. O'Keefe published the pamphlet: *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara: a handbook of authentic information on the mission from its foundation to the present day*. Santa Barbara, 1886.¹⁴²

The first European to visit and describe what is now the State of Nevada was the Franciscan Friar Francisco Garces who started from Sonora, in northern Mexico, with Colonel Anza in an overland tour for California in 1775. It was on this famous journey that Friar Garces stopped at the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers in Arizona, in order to explore the country as to the pros-

¹⁴¹ Streit, III, nn. 2929, 3230, 3241, pp. 931-933, 1025, 1027; Poppy, Max., O.F.M., and Martin Paul, *Survey of a Decade*, St. Louis, 1935, 741-742; *Indian Sentinel*, Washington, D. C., 1923, III, 29 ff.

¹⁴² Streit, III, n. 2766, p. 876.

pects of mission establishments. But no mission was founded there. From the accounts of Friar Garces' journey as given by Friar Pedro Font who accompanied him and wrote a fairly complete description of their travels, it seems practically certain that they visited also Nevada which was then and long after a desert without a name. Friar Garces' *Diario y derrotero* was first published at Mexico in 1854 and translated with critical notes by Elliott Coues, New York, in 1900.¹⁴³ Friar Pedro Font's *Diario* was lately published in the Spanish original. A partial French translation was published at Paris in 1838 in Ternaux's *Voyages* and an English translation of the whole work by Herbert Eugene Bolton was published at Berkeley, Cal., in 1931 and the original Spanish text was published for the first time by the same scholar at the same place in 1930 in vol. IV of *Anza's California Expedition*.

The Europeans who next visited Nevada were also Franciscan friars, namely Atanasio Dominquez and Silvester Velez de Escalante who on their journey from New Mexico to California in 1776-1777 crossed Colorado, Utah and the extreme southern part of what is now Nevada. These friars merely explored those regions and no missions were established. Their Diary describing their journey was published in Mexico in 1854 and at Seville in 1915.¹⁴⁴

*General Works on the Missions of the Friars in the Spanish South
and West of the present United States.*

Besides the numerous special works on the particular missions of the various countries, we have a large number of historical works treating of the missions of two and more countries. Some of these more general works are of greater value than many a special account of the missions.

Friar Andres Quiles Galindo wrote, about 1707, a general description of the Franciscan missions of New Spain and Florida under the title: *Relacion al Conde de Frigilana* (unpublished)

¹⁴³ This work is mentioned above under New Mexico. For this journey see also Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, II, 192-200; Espinosa, art. in *Cath. Encyclopedia*, s. v., Nevada, X, 775.

¹⁴⁴ This work also mentioned under New Mexico. Cf. Espinosa, *Cath. Encyclopedia*, Nevada, X, 775.

and in 1714 *Apologia por la conservacion del Colegio de Queretaro* (unpublished), treating on Works of the missions of Mexico and Texas.¹⁴⁵ The Various Friars *Chronica de todos los Colegios de esta Nueva Espana* (part I, written by Friar Isidro Felis Espinosa and printed at Mexico in 1746; part II, written by Friar Juan Domingo Arricivita and printed at Mexico in 1792) is a very valuable history of the missions of the friars in Mexico, Guatemala, California, and Texas.¹⁴⁶ The same Friar Isidro Felis Espinosa wrote a life of the celebrated missionary Antonio Margil de Jesus (died in 1726) under the title of: *El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante*, which gives in its two first parts an excellent history of the Franciscan missions in Guatemala, northern Mexico, New Mexico and Texas, whilst the third part contains the biography. This work was printed in Mexico in 1737, and in Valencia in 1742.¹⁴⁷ Some shorter accounts of the missionary work of Friar Antonio Margil in Guatemala, New Mexico and Texas are found in the biographies of the Venerable Friar by Friars Juan Lopez Aguado, Diego de Alcantara, Joseph Guerra, Francisco de San Estevan Andrade.¹⁴⁸ Domingo Gomez' *Geografia Zacatecana*, written about 1700 and still unpublished, gives a description of the mission establishments of northern Mexico and parts of Texas.¹⁴⁹ Friar Joseph Arlequi's *Chronica de Zacatecas*, printed at Mexico in 1737, describes some mission posts of Texas and northern Mexico.¹⁵⁰ Occasionally those friars did service in French Louisiana. In 1780 an anonymous friar compiled a topographical description of the missions of the College of Zacatecas in Mexico and Texas (printed in: *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, IV, Serie, IV, Mexico, 1856, 91-131).¹⁵¹ In 1789 Friar Antonio Fernando Martinez compiled a list of all the missions of the College of Zacatecas (manuscript in Pinart, *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Mexico*, 357.¹⁵² Friar Antonio Galvez wrote in 1827 a continuation of Arlequi's *Chronica de Zacatecas* under

¹⁴⁵ Streit, III, nn. 50, 90, pp. 15, 25; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 535, p. 480.

¹⁴⁶ Streit, III, nn. 516, 1157, pp. 146-147, 335-336; Marcellino, *Saggio*, nn. 41, 213, pp. 24, 169-171.

¹⁴⁷ Streit, III, nn. 403, 461, pp. 116, 130; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 213, p. 169.

¹⁴⁸ Streit, III, nn. 227, 244, 246, 280, pp. 63, 67, 68, 76.

¹⁴⁹ Streit, III, p. 698.

¹⁵⁰ Streit, III, n. 399, pp. 113-114. Reprint, Mexico, 1851. Streit, III, n. 1661, p. 566; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 38, p. 23.

¹⁵¹ Streit, III, n. 1033, p. 305. ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

the title of: *Memorial para la continuacion de la Cronica de Zacatecas* (printed in 1851 at Mexico in the reprint of Arlequi's *Cronica*).¹⁵³

Friar Francisco de Ayeto incorporated much historical material on the Franciscan missions of Mexico and New Mexico in his polemical writings against the aggressions of the bishops of those countries, as in: *Manifestacion Breve* (printed at Mexico in 1671), and in: *Cristol de la Verdad* (printed at Madrid in 1693).¹⁵⁴ The *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, written by Friar Antonio Tello in 1650, is a valuable source for the history of Franciscan missions in Mexico and New Mexico (printed in part in: *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Mexico*, II, Mexico, 1866, 343-439, and Guadalajara, 1891).¹⁵⁵

The voluminous *Cronica de la Provincia de Michoacan* of Friar Pablo Beaumont, written about 1770, treats of the Franciscan missions in Mexico and New Mexico (first printed at Mexico in 1873 in 5 vols., a better edition, printing first the illustrations omitted in the 1873 edition, was issued in Mexico in 1932 in 3 vols.).¹⁵⁶ The first part of this work of Friar Beaumont was printed in Mexico as early as 1826 under the wrong name of Friar Manuel de la Vega, the copyist of the manuscript, and the title: *Historia del descubrimiento de la America Septentrional*.¹⁵⁷

In 1690 an anonymous friar wrote: *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Leon desde 1650 hasta 1690* which contains valuable material on the Franciscan missions of Mexico and Texas (first printed in: Genaro Garcia: *Documentos ineditos o muy raros para la historia de Mexico*, XXV, Mexico, 1909, 189-394).¹⁵⁸ The sermon on Friar Antonio Margil by Friar Diego de Alcantara (printed at Mexico in 1727 under the title of: *Las Honrras que el Colegio de Queretaro hizo a su Ven. Padre Antonio Margil*) contains much material on the Franciscan missions of Central America, Mexico, and Texas.¹⁵⁹

The anonymous *Noticias de la California, Sonora, Nueva Vis-*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, n. 1661, p. 566; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 240, p. 200.

¹⁵⁴ Streit, II, n. 2054, 2289, pp. 579, 652-653; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 53, pp. 29-30.

¹⁵⁵ Streit, II, n. 1838, p. 515, III, nn. 1731, 2068, pp. 581, 661; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 716, pp. 584-586.

¹⁵⁶ Streit, III, n. 1852, pp. 616-617; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 68, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵⁷ Streit, III, n. 1529, p. 522.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, n. 2271, p. 647.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, n. 244, p. 67.

caya y Nuevo Mexico, written by a Friar in the XVIIIth century and still unpublished, contains much valuable material on the missions in those countries. Likewise the *Papeles Franciscanos* by an anonymous friar of the XVIIIth century (still inedited) contain good material on the Franciscan missions in the Spanish South of the United States.¹⁶⁰

But an inexhaustible source on the Franciscan missions in Spanish North America is the immense manuscript collection of documents gathered by Friar Manuel de la Vega during the years 1780 to 1792 and preserved in thirty-two folio volumes.

Manuscript Collection This collection bears the title: *Coleccion de memorias de Nueva Espana* and contains a great mass of documents relative to the civil and ecclesiastical history of Spanish America which, but for the care of Friar de la Vega, would have been lost. Only a small number of documents of this vast collection have been printed thus far. Vol. II has documents on the Franciscan missions of Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Vol. III contains such on the missions in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Vol. VII has documents on the Florida missions. Vol. X has such on the missions in New Mexico. Vols. XXI-XXIII are entirely filled with material on California, vol. XXIV with such on California and New Mexico, vols. XXV-XXVI on New Mexico and Arizona, vols. XXVII-XXVIII on Texas.¹⁶¹

Valuable sources are the general works written by friars on the history of New Spain. To this class belong the *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva Espana* of Friar Bernardino de Sahagun.

Important General Works This history covers the period from 1547 till 1577 and was first printed in Mexico in 1829 (2 vols.) and lately translated into English by Fanny R. Bandelier and printed by the Fisk University Press of Nashville, Tennessee, in 1932.¹⁶² Of greater value for the history of the missions in the Spanish South of the United States are the *Monarchia Indiana* of Friar Juan de Torquemada (printed at Seville in 1615 and Madrid in 1725),¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 413; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 454, p. 429

¹⁶¹ Streit, III, n. 1161, pp. 336-339, 410-411; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 750, pp. 609-625.

¹⁶² Streit, II, n. 1453, pp. 406-407; III, n. 1541, pp. 526-527; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 595, pp. 523-527.

¹⁶³ Streit, II, n. 1453, pp. 406-407; III, n. 213, p. 58; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 729, pp. 595-596.

the *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana* of Friar Geronimo de Mendieta (finished in 1596 and printed in Mexico in 1870),¹⁶⁴ and finally the *Teatro Mexicano* of Friar Agustin de Vetancourt (printed in Mexico in 1698, and in a second edition in Mexico in 1870). The fourth part of this work containing the history of the missions proper was separately issued under the title of: *Menologio Franciscano*, Mexico, in 1697.¹⁶⁵ The: *Breve Apostolico de Pio Sexto y Estatutos Generales* (printed in Madrid in 1781) is a legal manual for the missionaries of California, New Mexico, and Mexico.¹⁶⁶

The special histories of Provinces of the Friars Minor in Spain contain also material on the missions in Spanish America. Thus the anonymous *Chronica Serafica de la Provincia de Castilla*, written by a friar in the XVIIIth century, is a manuscript source on the history of the Franciscan missions in Mexico, Florida, and Texas.¹⁶⁷ The *Memoriale sive Chronicon Maioricarum Provinciae ab Andrea Noguera elaboratum ann 1720* (still unpublished) contains among other matter also some biographies of missionaries who labored in California,¹⁶⁸ and the *Chronica Serafica de la Provincia de Mallorca* (still unpublished) also deals with missions of California. This work was written in 1814 by Friar Francisco Bondoy.¹⁶⁹

CANADA

In 1615 the Franciscan friars began their missionary activity in Canada, and in 1632 the Capuchins followed them into Acadia. Those French friars kept us well informed about their labors through a number of very informative historical works.

As early as July 20, 1615, Friar Jean d'Olbeau wrote from Quebec a Letter to his friend P. Didace David on the mission (printed in 1691 in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foi*, I, 62).¹⁷⁰ Friar Joseph le Caron wrote in 1618 a *Recit de l'hivernement chez les Montagnais* (printed in 1691 in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foi*, I, 132),¹⁷¹ and in 1624: *Memoires touchant le genie, l'humeur, les superstitions, les bonnes et mauvaises dispositions*

¹⁶⁴ Streit, III, n. 1831, pp. 605-606; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 408, pp. 397-398.

¹⁶⁵ Streit, II, n. 2342, pp. 670-671, n. 2326, pp. 666-667; III, n. 1835, p. 608; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 759, pp. 632-633.

¹⁶⁶ Streit, III, n. 1040, p. 306.

¹⁶⁷ Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 139, p. 113.

¹⁶⁸ Streit, III, pp. 386-388.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 691; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 84, p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ Streit, II, n. 2477, p. 778.

¹⁷¹ Streit, II, n. 2480, p. 780.

des sauvages (printed only in part in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foi*, I, Paris, 1691, 263).¹⁷² Friar Denis Jamet wrote from Quebec in 1620 a Letter on his missionary work (printed in 1636 in: Sagard's *Histoire du Canada*, Paris, 1636, p. 58) and a second Letter which was printed as a pamphlet at Paris in 1626.¹⁷³ Friar Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon working among the Hurons wrote a *Relation* on his mission (printed in part in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foi*, I, Paris, 1691, 346).¹⁷⁴

Of still greater importance than those earlier short reports are the works of Friar Gabriel Sagard: ¹⁷⁵ *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, published at Paris in 1632 (second edition at Paris in 1865, third edition at Paris in 1929, in: *Quegan, Trois Voyages au Canada*), and: *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Freres Mineurs Recollets y ont faicts*, published at Paris in 1636 (second edition at Paris in 1866).¹⁷⁶

The Friars Minor were expelled from Canada in 1629 and after the restoration of that province to France in 1632 were prevented from returning till 1670. In 1637 they drew up a *Memoire touchant le droit d'aller en Canada* (printed in Margry, *Memoires et documents*, I, Paris, 1879, 3-18) which sets forth what the friars had done in Canada from 1615 till 1632 and refutes the reasons given for excluding them.¹⁷⁷ In 1684 they drew up a second *Memoire contenant la conduite en leur mission de Canada* (printed in Margery, *Memoires et documents*, I, Paris, 1879, 18-33) which relates what the friars had done in Canada from 1615 till 1629 and details the difficulties created for them by the bishop of Quebec since their return.¹⁷⁸ Friar Emmanuel Jumeau designed in 1685 a map of the Bay of the St. Lawrence River (printed in 1910 in Ganong's *New Relation of Gaspesia*, Toronto, 1910).¹⁷⁹

Friar Chretien Le Clercq published in 1691 the valuable history of the Franciscan missions in his: *Premier Etablissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France*, in two volumes in Paris (English

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, n. 2485, p. 782.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, n. 2484, p. 781, n. 2488, p. 782.

¹⁷⁴ Streit, II, n. 2492, p. 783.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 2495, pp. 785-786; III, n. 2529, p. 819; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 593, pp. 521-523.

¹⁷⁶ Streit, II, n. 2508, pp. 791-792; III, n. 2544, pp. 824-825.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, II, n. 2512, pp. 793-794.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 2726, p. 861.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 2728, p. 861.

Works of Friars translation by J. G. Shea at New York in 1881). The work describes the missions from 1615 till 1690.¹⁸⁰ The same friar published in 1615 till 1690.¹⁸⁰ The same friar published in the same year at Paris the: *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, a study of the customs and religion of the Micmac Indians (a new edition with English translation by W. F. Ganong was published at Toronto in 1910).¹⁸¹

Le Clercq and Crespel Friar Sixte le Tac in 1689 wrote a valuable history of Canada from 1504 till 1632: *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada* which was first published by Eug. Reveillaud at Paris in 1888.¹⁸²

Friar Emanuel Crespel's *Voyages dans le Canada et son Naufrage en revenant en France* are counted among the popular books of adventure. The book was first printed at Frankfort on the Main in Germany in 1742 and reprinted in 1752, 1757, 1758, 1808, Saint Trond, 1878, and Quebec, 1884. German translations appeared in print at Frankfort & Leipzig in 1751; then by Friar Bonaventure Hammer, O.F.M., in the: *Sendbote des Goettlichen Herzens Jesu*, XIII, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1886, 424-428, 476-484, 535-544, 593-602, 644-651; and by Friar Berchmans Boes, O.F.M. *An der Pforte des Todes*, Trier, 1913; and by Dr. Esselborn, Friedberg, 1915. English translations were published at London in 1797, New York, 1868, and by J. G. Shea at Boston, 1856, 2nd edit. 1857. Dutch translations were issued at Saint-Trond, 1878, and at Hoogstraaten, 1905.¹⁸³

Irish friars labored in Newfoundland since the year 1784. The five first bishops of that territory were Friars Minor. One of them, Bishop Fleming, wrote under date of September 24, 1834, and October 8, 1834, two letters on his mission which were first published at Dublin in the *Freeman's Irish Friars Journal* and in 1836 translated into Italian and printed at Rome in pamphlet form under the title of: *Stato della Religione Cattolica in Terra Nuova* (reprinted at

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, n. 2749, pp. 866-867; III, n. 2720, p. 865; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 328, pp. 300-301. Partial translation in B. F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana*, IV, 1852.

¹⁸¹ Streit, II, n. 2750, p. 868; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 328, pp. 301-308. Extracts from the work on hieroglyphics, by Shea in *Historical Magazine*, 1st. series, V, New York, 1861, pp. 284 ff., 289 ff. See also Margry, III, Paris, 1879, pp. 91-534.

¹⁸² Streit, III, n. 2807, p. 885.

¹⁸³ Streit, III, nn. 1392, 1406, 1409, 1416, 1418, 1449, 2202, 2431, pp. 475, 480, 482, 489, 724, 794; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 167, pp. 130-132.

Rome in 1837).¹⁸⁴ Bishop Thomas Mullock, another friar, Bishop of Newfoundland from 1850 till 1869, published: *The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland and its conservation*. Dublin, 1856, and: *Historical Notes on Newfoundland and the Friars Minor who introduced there the Catholic Religion: a Conference*, which was first published in America, was later translated into Italian by Friar Anselm Knappen and printed in 1860 at Rome, in: *Cromaco delle Missioni Francescane*, I, Nos. 4-5.¹⁸⁵

In general works much valuable material on the missions of the early friars is found as in the: *Histoire chronologique de la Province des Recollets de Paris par Frère Hyacinthe Le Febvre*. Paris, 1677,¹⁸⁶ the *Necrologie ou Table generale de tous les Recollets de la Province de St. Denis morts depuis l'erection de la Province* (1612-1789),¹⁸⁷ Friar Olivier Goyer's *Oraison Funèbre* on Count Frontenac delivered on December 19, 1698,¹⁸⁸ and Friar Charles Rapine's *Deux additions à l'histoire chronologique de la Province des Recollets de Paris jusqu' en 1688*,¹⁸⁹ *Mortuologe des Recollets*.¹⁹⁰

On May 18, 1800, Friar Felix Bercy died at Quebec and with him passed away the last regular Superior of the Recollect Friars of Canada. Friar Louis Demers survived him and when he finally died at Montreal on September 2, 1843, the last of the Recollect friars of Canada departed this life.¹⁹¹ It was only forty-seven years later, in 1890, that the friars returned to Canada, establishing their first house at Montreal.¹⁹²

Ever since their return to Canada the friars have been conspicuous for their literary activity, foremost in the field of history. A first-class historian is Friar Odoric Marie Jouvé. In 1905 Friar Jouvé published a summary of the history of the friars at Quebec from their first establishment in 1615 to 1905: *Les Frères Mineurs à Quebec (1615-1905)*. *Simple coup d'oeil historique*. Quebec, 1905.¹⁹³ In 1910 Jouvé published at Quebec:

¹⁸⁴ Streit, III, n. 2252, p. 737, n. 2257, p. 743.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 2476, p. 805; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 440, p. 415.

¹⁸⁶ Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 329, pp. 309-313.

¹⁸⁷ Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 448, p. 420, still unpublished; Habig, *op. cit.*, 259.

¹⁸⁸ Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 474, p. 437, still unpublished.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 542, p. 484.

¹⁹⁰ Manuscript preserved in the archives of the Seminary of Quebec. See Habig, *op. cit.*, 259.

¹⁹¹ Marcellino, *Saggio*, p. 313.

¹⁹² Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., *Vingt-cinq années de Vie Franciscaine au Canada*, Montreal, 1915.

¹⁹³ Streit, III, n. 3201, p. 1019.

Le Frère Didace Pelletier, in 1912: *Le Père Gabriel de la Rivourde* (Quebec, 1912). Three years later he published his standard work on the history of the friars in Canada from 1615 till 1629: *Les Franciscains et le Canada. Vol. I: L'Etablissement de la Foi*. Quebec, 1915 (xvii, 506). An English translation by Larkin was published in: *Franciscan Review*, Montreal, 1916-1917. Unfortunately Friar Jouvé did not continue the work. In 1917 Friar Jouvé published: *Le troisieme centenaire de l'Etablissement de la Foi au Canada. Volume-Souvenir*. Quebec, 1917 (xiii, 498). Besides these works he published a number of smaller writings and articles in periodicals. In 1934 he issued an excellent work: *Les Franciscains et le Canada, Aux Trois Rivières*. Paris, 1934 (pp. 340) on the friars at Three-Rivers in past centuries.

Friar Hugolin Lemay is even a more prolific historian of the friars in Canada. In 1913 he published at Montreal: *Les Registres paroissiaux de Rimouski, des Trois-Pistoles et de L'Ile-Verte, tenus par les Recollets (1701-1769)*, then: *Vingt-cinq années de Vie Franciscaine au Canada: 1890-1915*. Montreal, 1915; *De Quebec à Percé. Sur les Pas des Recollets*. Montreal, 1916; *Le Père Joseph Denis*. Quebec, 1926; *Les Recollets à L'Ile Royale*. Ottawa, 1930; *Bibliographie Franciscaine. Inventaire des revues, livres, brochures et autres écrits publiés par les Franciscains du Canada de 1890 à 1915*. Quebec, 1916; *Premier Supplément jusqu'en 1931*. Quebec, 1932; *Table nominale des Recollets de Bretagne, missionnaires et aumôniers dans L'Ile Royale (1713-1759)*. Ottawa, 1931; *Bibliographie du R. P. Joachim-Joseph Monfette, O.F.M.* Quebec, 1931; *Bio-Bibliographie du R. P. Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M.* Quebec, 1931; *Bibliographie et Iconographie due Serviteur de Dieu le R. P. Frédéric Janssoone (1838-1916)*. Quebec, 1932; *Notes Bibliographiques pour servir à l'histoire des Recollets du Canada: I: Les écrits imprimés laissés par les Recollets*. Montreal, 1932; *II: Le Père Nicolas Viel*. Quebec-Montreal, 1932; *III: Le Serviteur de Dieu Frère Didace Pelletier*. Quebec, 1932; *IV: Les deux plus anciens livres antoniens usités au Canada Français: Bibliographie antonienne de la Province de Quebec. Supplément pour 1910-1931*. Montreal, 1932; *Bibliographie du Tiers-Ordre seculier de S. François au Canada (Province de Quebec). Supplément pour les années 1921-1931*. Montreal, 1932; *Un Peintre de Renom à Quebec, 1670: Le diacre Lue François*. Ottawa, 1932; *Bibliographie des Bibliographies*

du P. Louis Hennepin, Recollet. Montreal, 1933; *Bibliographie des travaux publiés en Europe sur les Recollets du Canada (1627-1933)*. Ottawa, 1933; *Normae pro Bibliographia Franciscana conficienda*. Quaracchi, 1935. Finally a *Bibliographie* of his own works, Montreal, 1932, which in chronological order lists seventy publications.

Brother Gilles published at Montreal in 1916 a historical novel portraying the life and labors of the ancient friars in Canada. Its title is: *Trois Legendes Françiscaines de L'An 1629. Legendes Canadiennes avec preface et notes par le P. Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M.*

In August, 1632 the Capuchins established a mission in Nova Scotia or Acadia which comprised eastern Canada and part of the State of Maine, U. S. The English broke up the mission in 1654 and 1655. The printed sources on this mission

Early are rather scarce. In 1633 the friars sent a short
Capuchin *Relatio gestorum Missionis Canadae* to the Propa-
Works ganda, a summary of which is printed in: Rocco da Cesinale's *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini*, III, Roma, 1873, p. 677, note 4. An: *Attestation of the Capuchins of Port Royal*, dated October 20, 1643 (printed in: *Collection de manuscrits relatifs a Nouvelle-France*, I, Quebec, 1883, 117-118). A *Lettre* of Friar Ignace of Paris, dated Senlis, August 6, 1653 (printed in *Collection de manuscrits*, I, 136-140). *Marriage Contract between Latour and Madame D'Aunay*, dated February 24, 1653 and witnessed by Capuchin Fathers (printed in: *Transactions of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, III, 236-241; Engl. transl. in Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*, I, Halifax, 1865, 120-123), an important document on the revenues of the Capuchin Indian schools. The: *Capitulation du Port Royal*, dated August 6, 1654, was signed by the Capuchin missionary Leonard of Chartres in "the interest of the mission" (printed in: *Collection de manuscrits*, I, 145-149). The most valuable document, however, is the: *Brevis Missionis Accadiae descriptio seu relatio*, written in 1656 by Friar Ignace of Paris (first printed with English translation in: *Report concerning Canadian Archives* for the year 1904, Ottawa, 1905. Appendix H, 333-341, reprinted by Ph. F. Bourgeois, C.S.C., in his: *Les Anciens Missionnaires de L'Acadie devant Histoire*, Shediac, N. B. (1910) 81-88 (Latin Text) and 88-97 (French translation)).

The history of the Capuchin mission of Acadia was first told with some details by Friar Rocco da Cesinale in: *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini*, III, Roma, 1873, 673-680, then by Friar Otto Jeron in: "The Capuchins in America," in: **Later Works** *Historical Records and Studies* of the Cath. Historical Society of New York, V. New York, 1909, 288-289; John M. Lenhart, "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine," in: *Records of the A. C. Historical Society*, September and December, 1916, and March, 1917. Vols. XXVII-XXVIII. Philadelphia, 1916-1917. Friar Alberic, O.M.Cap.: *Le Capucins en Acadie*, 1632-1654, in: La Nouvelle-France, vols. XIV-XV. Août, Septembre, Decembre, 1915, Janvier, 1916. Quebec, 1915-1916. Finally, the standard history was written by Friar Candide Causse, O.M.Cap. *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne: Une Mission Capucine en Acadie*. Paris, 1927 (xv, 338), a finished and polished work. A short article was published by P. Pacifique, O.M.Cap. Le III centenaire de l'arrivée des Capucins en Acadie, in: *Echo de S. François*, tom. XXI. La Réparation (Montreal) 1932, pp. 17-21.

Irish Capuchins first came to Canada in 1785, settling at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, in the neighborhood of the center of the ancient Acadian mission of their French Brethren. A detailed account of Friar James Jones, second pastor of Halifax (1785-1800), was published by P. Pacifique, O.M.Cap.: "Le Premier Missionnaire de Langue Anglaise en Nouvelle-Ecosse," in: *Etudes Historiques et Géographiques*. Ristigouche, 1935, 13-29.

The Capuchins returned to Canada in 1890, settling at Ottawa. In 1915 the friars published a pictorial souvenir: *Les Freres Mineurs Capucins au Canada, 1890-1915, et Noces D'Argent de la Paroisse St. François d'Assise d'Ottawa*. (Quebec, 1915.) Alexis de Barbezieux, O.M.Cap., "Les Capucins au Canada," 1890-1933, in: *L'Echo de St. François*, Montreal, XXI, 1931, Nos. 3-12; XXII, 1932, Nos. 1-12; XXIII, 1933, Nos. 1-4. *Premiers 25 ans l'un Séminaire Franciscain: Collège des Capucins d'Ottawa: 1908-1933*. La Réparation (Montreal) 1933.

Much valuable information on the missions of French Recollects and Capuchins among the Micmac Indians of eastern Canada and Maine, U. S., is contained in the *Etudes historiques and géographiques* of Friar Pacifique, Ristigouche, 1935.

LOUISIANA

Friars Minor accompanied the Sieur de la Salle in his expeditions to the West and South from 1678 till 1687 which led to the discovery of the Mississippi and the establishment of the Province of Louisiana. Friar Membré (Zenóbius) wrote a **Friars with** *Relation* covering the period from September, 1678 **La Salle** till September, 1682, an abridgment of which was first published by Friar Le Clercq in: *Premier Etablissement de la Foi*, II, Paris, 1691, 108-195.¹⁹⁴ Besides he wrote a *Lettre de la rivière de Mississippi*, dated June 3, 1682 (first printed in P. Margry's *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français dans L'Amérique Septentrionale*, II, Paris, 1877, 206-212, translated into English by Friar Marion A. Habig, O.F.M. *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, New York, 1934, pp. 207-214).¹⁹⁵

Friar Anastase Douay wrote *Relation des decouvertes de M. de la Salle* in the year 1686 which was likewise first printed in Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement*, II, Paris, 1691; Shea's translation, 229-249, 281-282 (English translation also in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration*, New York, 1852, pp. 197-229, and in French's *Historical Collection*, IV, New York, 1852).¹⁹⁶ Also Friar Chretien Le Clercq wrote an account of de la Salle's attempt to reach the Mississippi by sea and to establish a French colony in Texas (first printed in his: *Premier Etablissement* and in English in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration*, pp. 185-196),¹⁹⁷ and: *Avis du Success de la Decouverte*, dated Aug. 14, 1682 (printed in Margry, II, 203-205, translated by Habig, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-233).

The most famous friar, however, who wrote about the discovery of the Mississippi and the establishment of the province of Louisi-

¹⁹⁴ Shea's translation, II, N. Y., 107-195; also Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, N. Y., 1852, 83-97, 147-163, 165-184; also French's *Hist. Coll.*, N. Y., IV, 1852. Other literature in Habig, *op. cit.*, 276-277.

¹⁹⁵ Streit, II, n. 2717, p. 858. Habig ascribes to Zénobe Membré the official report of La Salle's exploration of 1682 entitled: *Relation de la Découverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi dans le Golfe de Mexique*, first printed by Raymond Thomassy in *De la Salle*, 1859, and reprinted thrice in various works. Habig published an English translation of this document in his *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, pp. 244-256, and establishes Membré's authorship. Cf. pp. 235-243.

¹⁹⁶ Habig, *op. cit.*, 265-266; Streit, II, n. 2736, p. 863; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 201, p. 152.

¹⁹⁷ Streit, III, n. 2388, p. 783; Habig, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-160, 263-264.

ana, was undoubtedly Friar Louis Hennepin. He wrote three works on that discovery. The first one, entitled: **Works of** *Description de la Louisiana*, was first printed at Paris **Hennepin** in 1683, and in the course of two and a half centuries passed through as many as forty-six editions, including spurious editions and translations. The second work, entitled: *Nouvelle Decouverte*, was first published at Utrecht in 1697 and up to the year 1738 passed through ten French editions, six English translations, three German translations, two Spanish and two Dutch translations. In modern times three English editions (1832, 1880, 1903) and a Spanish edition (1902) were issued. The third work, entitled: *Nouveau Voyage*, appeared first in print at Utrecht in 1698 and up to the year 1737 passed through nine French editions, six Dutch editions, two German, two English, and two Spanish editions. In modern times an English edition (1903) and a Spanish (1902) were published.¹⁹⁸

Friar Marion A. Habig gives in his recent work: *The Franciscan Père Marquette. A critical biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion* (New York, 1934, xiii, 301), the most authoritative account of the labors of those French friars in the Mississippi Valley.

In 1722 the Capuchins took over the Louisiana mission. The last missionary died there in 1829. The printed sources on this mission are rather scarce.

Friar Bruno de Langres wrote a Letter, dated March 5, 1722 (printed in English translation by J. G. Shea in: *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, II, New York, 1889, 295-296, reprinted in: Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., *The Capuchins* **Sources of** *in French Louisiana*, Washington, 1928, pp. 28-29). **Capuchin** Friar Raphael of Luxemburg wrote a Letter on Sep- **History** tember 7, 1723, on the beginning of the Capuchin mission in Louisiana (1722-1766) (printed in English translation by J. G. Shea in: *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, II, New York, 1889, 297-300; extract in Vogel

¹⁹⁸ Habig, *op. cit.*, 266-270; Streit, II, nn. 2721, 2732, 2737, 2738, 2742, 2773, 2779, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2780, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, pp. 858-860, 862-865, 873-878; III, nn. 31, 405, 1317, 1318, 1324-1326, 1333, 1338, 1339, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1351, 1385, 1387, 1394, 1395, 2242, 2329, 2388, 2705, 2712, 3172, 3190, pp. 9, 116, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462-466, 474-476, 734-735, 764, 782, 783, 861, 862, 864, 1014, 1017; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 283, pp. 231-236. The literature on Hennepin is listed in Hugolin Lemay's *Bibliographie des Bibliographies du P. Hennepin, Recollet*, Montreal, 1933.

op. cit., 30-31),¹⁹⁹ and another Letter on July 25, 1731 (printed first in English translation in: Vogel, *op. cit.*, 72-73), a third Letter of August 1727 (first printed in translation in: Vogel, *op. cit.*, 132-142). Friar Charles of Rambervillers wrote a Report about 1749 of which only the statistical account is printed in *Bullarium O.M.Cap.*, VII, Romae, 1752, 329-330.

The history of this mission was written from mostly unpublished documents by Friar Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap. *The Capuchins in French Louisiana* (1722-1766), Washington, 1928 (pp. xxiv, 201).

In 1772 Spanish Capuchins supplanted their French Brethren. Likewise only a few original documents written by the friars are printed. Friar Antonio de Sedella wrote on March 7, 1805, two Letters which were printed in the Spanish original by Friar Antonio de Castillo, O.M.Cap., in: *La Luisiana Espanola y Padre Sedella*. San Juan, P. R., 1929, pp. 177-178. This work of Friar Antonio de Castillo is to date the best account of the mission of the Capuchins in Spanish Louisiana (pp. xiii, 215).

UNITED STATES

The first friar who came to the United States after the Revolutionary War to engage in missionary work was the Irish Capuchin Charles Whelan who landed in 1784 in New York. Friars of all three Families followed him in the course of

Writings of the Irish Friars time. Most of them labored among the white settlers, while several became Indian missionaries. Only a few wrote reports which were

printed. In January, 1785, Friar Charles Whelan wrote a letter to Propaganda describing his missionary work. The letter was written from New York (printed in the original Italian text in: *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, XLIII, Romae, 1927, 51-53, English translation in: *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, Philadelphia, 1926, 245-247, and in the: *Capuchin Annual*, I, Dublin, 1929, 73 sq.). Seven Letters written by the Franciscan Friar Francis Rogatus Fromm to Bishop John Carroll during the years 1791 till 1796 were published by Fr. Felix Feller, O.S.B. (*Records of A. C. H. Society*, XXXIV, Philadelphia, 1923, 203-205, 209-210, 211, 212-220, 224-225, 232-235, 257). Seven Letters written by the Capuchin Friar Lawrence Sylvester

¹⁹⁹ Streit, III, n. 2830, p. 892.

Phelan to Bishop John Carroll during the years 1795 and 1796 were also published by Fr. Felix Fellner, O.S.B. (*Records of A. C. H. Society*, XXXIV, Philadelphia, 1923, 225-228, 229-230, 236-238, 240-242, 244-247, 248-251, 254-256). Fr. Felix Fellner also published fifteen Letters of the Capuchin Friar Peter Helbron written from 1800 to 1808 to Bishop Carroll (*Records of A. C. H. Society*, XXXIV, Philadelphia, 1923, 289-302, 311-315, 317-321, 323-324, 328-330).

Friar Norbert Miller, O.M.Cap., published a detail history of the labors of the: "Pioneer Capuchin Missionaries in the United States from 1784 till 1816," in: *Historical Records and Studies*, XXI, New York, 1922, 170-234.

Many reports of later Franciscan missionaries are still preserved and await publication. The most important of them seems to be Otto Skolla's *Relazione delle Missioni Francescane negli Stati Uniti d'America*.²⁰⁰

The beginning of the foundation of regular Provinces of Friars Minor may be traced to the year 1844, when one of the Friars of the Tyrolese Reformati came to Cincinnati. In 1850-1851 the first monastery was built which was to become the nucleus of the present Province of St. John the Baptist. In 1852 the Friar Minor Conventuals established the first community in Texas. In 1857 the Capuchins made their first establishment at Calvary, Wisconsin. In 1858 three Friars of the Saxon Province laid the foundations of the Province of the Sacred Heart at Teutopolis, Ill. The Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus dates back to the year 1851.

The reports sent to the missionary societies of France and Germany from 1852 to 1867 were eventually published in their *Annals*. A complete list of those Provincial Reports and Histories printed reports was published by Friar Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap. in: *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States*. Washington, 1933, 80-87.

Histories of the several Franciscan Provinces have been published namely: *The Rise and Progress of the Province of St. Joseph of the Capuchin Order in the United States* 1857-1907. New York, 1907; Cyprian Bauscheid, O.F.M. *Die Franziskanerprovinz vom Heil. Herzen Jesu, in ihrem Entstehen und Wachs-*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 962; Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 693, 574.

tum 1858-1908. St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Friar Celestine Bittle, O.M.Cap., published a new history of the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph under the title: *A Romance of Lady Poverty* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1933). In his: *Pioneer Capuchin Letters* (New York, 1936) Friar Theodore Roemer published translations of the original documents used by Friar Celestine Bittle in the foregoing work. Friar Adalbert Callahan, O.F.M., tells the history of the Custody of the Immaculate Conception and the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus in his work: *Medieval Francis in Modern America* (New York, 1936).

The history of the Friars Minor Conventuals in the United States is well told in: *The Minorite*, X, December, 1935. Their first regular establishment was made in 1852. The Polish Conventual Friars were formed in 1905 into the Province of St. Anthony. In 1930 the Friars of this Province published a history at Buffalo covering the years 1905-1930 under the title: *Album Jubileuszony Prowincji Polskiej OO. Franciszkanow w Ameryce*. A summary of this history was given by Friar Bernardino Polonio in: *Miscellan. Franciscan.*, XXXI, 1931, 79-82.

The history of the Brothers (Fathers) of the Third Order Regular in the United States is summarily told in the: *The Alvernia*, III, Loretto, Pa., 1911. Friar Marianus Fiege, O.M.Cap. writes a history of the Poor Clares in the United States in: *The Princess of Poverty*, Evansville, Ind., 1900, 218-304. An anonymous Franciscan Sister published the history of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis (1855-1928) in: *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XL-XLII, Philadelphia, 1929-1931. Another anonymous Sister published: *History of the Franciscan Sisters of the Province of St. Clare*, Chicago, Ill., 1915.

Valuable material is embodied in the private publications of various Franciscan Provinces, as: *The Provincial Chronicle of St. John Baptist Province*, Cincinnati, O., *The Messenger of the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph*, etc.

A history of the Friars of the State of Nebraska was published by Friar Eugene Hegedorn, *The Franciscans in Nebraska*. Norwich, Neb., 1931 (covers the years 1541-1544, 1877-1931).

The histories of the various parishes entrusted to the care of the friars furnish valuable data on the history of the friars. We single out *Gedenk-Buch der St. Franziskus Seraphikus Gemeinde*

Parish Histories *in Cincinnati, Ohio* (1859-1884). Cincinnati, 1884; *Andenken an das Goldene Jubilaum der St. Franziskus Seraphikus Gemeinde in Cincinnati, Ohio* (1859-1909). Cincinnati, 1909; John B. Wuest, O.F.M., *St. Francis Seraph Church and Parish, Cincinnati, Ohio. A Historical Sketch* (1859-1934). Cincinnati, 1934. *Diamond Jubilee of St. Clement Parish, St. Bernard, Ohio* (1850-1925). *Golden Jubilee of St. Bernard's Church. St. Bernard, Platte Co., Neb.* (1878-1928). *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, New York* (1840-1915). New York. *Souvenir Book of St. Anthony's Church, Butler, New Jersey.* *Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee of St. John's Church, Vandalia* (1900-1925). *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Peter & Paul's Church, Cumberland, Md.* (1848-1898). Cumberland, Md., 1898. *Souvenir der St. Joseph's Gemeinde zu Appleton, Wis., Appleton, 1902.* *Souvenir and History of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, New York* (1840-1915), New York, 1915. *History of St. Benedict the Moor, Catholic Colored Mission, Milwaukee.* Milwaukee, 1912. Korbiniian Vieracher, O.M.Cap., *Geschichte von Mount Calvary, Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1907.*

Biographical monographs of individual friars are comparatively rare. We quote: Friar Donald Shearer, O.M.Cap., *Ignatius Cardinal Persico*. Spencer, Mass., 1932; Bittle, Berchmans,

Biographies and Other Works O.M.Cap., *A herald of the Great King. Father Stephen Eckert.*, Milwaukee, 1933; Causse, Candide, O.M.Cap., *Eveque d'or, crosse de bois. Vie de Mgr. de Charbonnel, eveque de Toronto.* Paris, 1931; "Peregrinus." *The Pioneer Franciscan Bishops in Newfoundland*, in: *The Franciscan Review*, Laprairie, Canada, Feb. to October, 1931.

A monograph on St. Lawrence College at Mount Calvary, Wis., written by Friar Corbinian Vieracher, O.M.Cap., was published under the title: *The Laurentianum: Its Origin and Work* (1864-1924) at Mt. Calvary, Wis., in 1924.

General histories of the Friars Minor in the United States were published by Friar Bonaventure Hammer. *Die Franziskaner in den Vereinigten Staaten von der Entdeckung durch Columbus bis auf unsere Zeit.* Koeln, 1892, and by an anonymous Friar: *Friars Minor in the United States.* Chicago, 1926. Friar Otto Jeron, O.M.Cap., in 1909 published a general history of the Capu-

chins in the United States under the title: *The Capuchins in the United States*, in: *Historical Records and Studies*, V, New York, 1909, 274-347.

A sadly neglected chapter is the Indian missions of the Friars Minor in Wisconsin and Michigan.

GENERAL WORKS ON ALL MISSIONS IN AMERICA AND OTHER CONTINENTS

An adequate general history of all Franciscan missions has not yet been written. The *Storia universale delle missioni Francescane* by Friar Marcellino da Civezza in XI vols. (Prato & Firenze, 1857-1895) treats rather summarily of the missions in the United States and Canada in VI, 1881, 649-668, VII, Parte II, 1891, 315-497, VII, Parte IV, 1894, 1-310, 403-444, VIII-XI, 1895, 7-89, 98-181, 204-227. The missions in the United States and Canada are treated even less summarily in the following works. Dominicus a Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus*, V, Part II. Quaracchi, 1887, Marianus Oselar, *Gloriosus Franciscus redivivus sive Chronica Observantiae Stricterioris*. Ingolstadt, 1625; ²⁰¹ Damian Cornejo, *Chronica Seraphica*. Madrid, 1682-1698. 4 vols., continued by Friar Eusebio Gonzalez de Torre. Madrid, 1719-1737. 4 vols., and finished by Friar Joseph Torrubia. Roma, 1756. 1 vol. (the whole work has 9 vols.). It is an indispensable work for the history of the missions in America.²⁰² Antonio Daza, *Quarta Parte de la Cronica general de la Orden del Serafico Padre San Francisco* (printed about 1611).²⁰³ Friar Placide Gallemant, *Provincia S. Dionysii Fratrum Minorum Recollectorum in Gallia*. Chalons, 1649 (valuable for the history of missions in Canada).²⁰⁴ An anonymous Friar wrote in 1788 an: *Estado general de las misiones que tiene la Religion Serafica en las dos Americas e islas Filipinas*. Madrid, 1788 (printed in: Otto Maas, *Viajes de misioneros Franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*, Sevilla, 1915, 187-208).²⁰⁵ Henricus Sedulius. *Historia Seraphica*. Antwerp, 1613.²⁰⁶ Bernard Sanning, *Chroniken der drei Orden des S. Franciscus Seraphicus*, Prague, 1689.

²⁰¹ Marcellino, *op. cit.*, n. 382, pp. 371-372.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, nn. 161, 263, 733, pp. 128, 216, 596-597.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, n. 179, pp. 136-137.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 241, pp. 200-201.

²⁰⁵ Streit, III, n. 1108, p. 322.

²⁰⁶ Marcellino, *Saggio*, n. 681, p. 568.

8 vols.²⁰⁷ Francisco de Rojas, *Anales de la Orden de los Menores*, Valencia, 1652. 3 vols.²⁰⁸ Felix Reinecius, *Solon Franciscanus*, Innsbruck, 1602.²⁰⁹ Charles Rapine, *Histoire générale des Freres Mineurs Recollects*, Paris, 1630, with additions. Paris, 1688.²¹⁰ The anonymous work: *De missionibus apostolicis Fratrum Minorum a Congregatione de Propaganda Fide dependentibus*, a manuscript of 1720.²¹¹

Works of modern times are: Autbert Groeteken, O.F.M., *Missionsarbeit der Franziskaner der Gegenwart*, Trier, 1911, 124-128. Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, Muenster, 1929. *Conspectus missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, Quaracchi, 1933. Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg, 1909, 519-528.

The martyrologies arranged for every day of the year contain biographies of many missionaries who labored in the United States and Canada. We mention: Arturus a Monasterio, *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, Editio secunda. Paris, 1653.²¹² José Alvarez de la Fuente, *Diario Martyrologies, Manuals historico-politico-canónico-moral* (printed about 1720). 13 vols. (the last vol. has an index for all names listed during the whole year).²¹³ Benedetto Mazzara, *Leggendario Francescano*, Venice, 1676. 3 vols.²¹⁴ Benignus Fremaut, *De Seraphiensche Palmboom of levens van de heiligen de dry Orden*, St. Truiden, 1867, French translation: *Palmier Seraphique*. Bar-le-Duc, 1875, 12 vols.²¹⁵ Gabriel Schmidt, *Franziskanisches Missions-Martyrologium*, Neviges, 1932 (very short notes on each name).

Friar Manuel Maria Truxillo published in 1786 at Madrid a manual for training missionaries for America and the Philippines under the title: *Exhortacion pastoral, avisos importantes, reglamentos utiles*. The work contains much historical material on those mission colleges.²¹⁶ Friar Diego Alvarez told the story of the famous mission college of S. Diego at Alcala and its missionaries in his: *Memorial ilustre, de los famosos hijos del Convento*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 635, p. 548.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 580, pp. 500-501.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 547, p. 489.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 542, p. 484.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, n. 183, pp. 138-139.

²¹² *Ibid.*, n. 44, pp. 25-26.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, n. 23, p. 15.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 392, p. 388.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 233, p. 193.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 740, pp. 601-602.

de S. Maria de Jesus vulgo S. Diego de Alcala (printed at Alcala in 1753).²¹⁷

The: *Tableau synoptique de l'histoire de l'Ordre Seraphique* of Friar Leo Patrem (Paris, 1879), gives also a good survey of all the Franciscan missions.²¹⁸

A number of Franciscan periodicals print valuable material bearing on the history of the missions in America. The oldest periodical of this kind is the *L'Année Franciscaine*, a monthly issued by the Friars of France from 1863 till 1869, **Periodicals** which since 1870 bears the title: *Revue Franciscaine*.²¹⁹ In our own country periodicals like: *Franciscan Herald*, *St. Anthony's Messenger*, *Franciscan*, *Minorite*, and in Canada: *La Revue Franciscaine*, *Franciscan Review*, *L'Echo de St. Francois* print valuable contribution to the history of Franciscan missions of America past and present.

No adequate history of Franciscan missions in North America can be written without the aid of non-Franciscan sources. Many reports of friars on their missions are embodied in the correspondence of civil officials. Moreover, the reports of the government in the colonies furnish us in many cases with additional data and fill in the gaps left by the fragmentary reports of the Friars. Time and again the reports of some government official constitute the sole source on certain phases of the missionary activity of the friars in North America.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

New material is indispensable for the student of history. A vast mass of material is treasured for centuries in ever so many archives but remained unknown and unpublished up to our times. Much more material is still buried in oblivion awaiting the resurrection by some student of history.

The most important collections of material for the history of the Spanish colonies in America in general and for the history of the Franciscan missions in Spanish America in particular is the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. It comprises about 35,000 legajos or bundles ranging in size from a collection of a few documents or bound volumes to as many as 2,000 documents in one bundle. Yet the whole

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 24, pp. 15-16.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 490, pp. 448-449.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 568, p. 495.

collection is far from being complete, as many documents which really belong here are to be found in Simancas, Madrid and elsewhere. The Archivo General de Indias at Seville is divided into twelve sections. The most valuable of those sections in regard to the history of the Franciscan missions in the United States is that denominated: *Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba*. This collection comprises 2,375 legajos and about a million and a quarter individual documents.

In 1907 William R. Shepherd catalogued part of this vast mass of manuscript materials in his: *Guide to materials for history in Spanish archives*. Washington, 1907. James A. Robertson continued the work of indexing in his: *List of Documents*
Guides *in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States*, etc. (Washington, 1910). Roscoe R. Hill supplemented the work of those two scholars by his: *Descriptive catalogue of the documents relating to the history of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba* (Washington, 1916). In all, Mr. Hill examined 928 legajos, 65 of which were composed entirely of books and 90 containing in addition to the documents one or two books. He estimated that there is contained in those 928 legajos a total of 472,743 documents and 461 account and letter books. Charles Edw. Chapman followed in 1919 with: *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*. Berkeley, Cal., 1919. In 1930 the Instituto Hispano-Cubano began to issue a: *Catalogo de los Fondos Cubanos*. Meanwhile Spanish scholars commenced to publish at Seville since 1930 several volumes of a: *Catalogo de los Fondos Americanos*. Mexican scholars issued from 1928 till 1931 an: *Indice de documentos Nueva Espana existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*. Mexico, 1928-1931, 4 vols. Despite these guides and catalogues the General Archives of the Indies at Seville is still in the initial stage of its investigation.

The Archivo General de Mexico contains according to a careful estimate 35,000 volumes of manuscripts bound and almost as many bundles piled, ceiling high, at the Palacio Nacional in Mexico City. H. E. Bolton compiled a: *Guide to*
Mexico, *materials for the history of the United States in Mexi-*
Cuba *can Archives* (Washington, 1913), which shows a
 wealth of documents bearing upon the history of Franciscan missions in the Spanish South preserved in that General

Archive. Luis Marino Perez compiled a: *Guide to the materials for American History in Cuban Archives* (Washington, 1907), which indexes the documents preserved in the episcopal archives of Havana and lists many documents bearing upon the history of Franciscan and Capuchin missions in Florida and Louisiana.

The American Historical Association has published at Washington, D. C., annual reports on the public archives in Texas (1902); on the Bexar archives located at the university of Texas (1903);

on the public archives of Florida (1908); on the local archives of St. Augustine, Florida (1906);
Reports on
Local Archives on the archives of New Mexico (1911), and on the archives of the State of California (1915).

Claude H. Van Tyne published a: *Guide to the archives of the Government of the United States in Washington*. II. edition by W. Leland, Washington, D. C., 1907. All these guides list documents bearing upon the Franciscan missions in the United States. A number of archives is not properly indexed e. g., the Cathedral archives of St. Augustine, Florida, whose file of records goes back to the year 1594; the archiepiscopal archives of San Francisco (5 vols. on Indian missions); the episcopal archives of Monterey and Los Angeles; the Friary archives of Santa Barbara, California. Most useful are the two volumes of the: *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, compiled by Ralph E. Twitchell.

By far the most prolific store-house of historic documents relative to the history of the missions of the friars in the French colonies of Canada and the Middle West of the United States is

the National Archives at Paris. The most important section for American history is the *Archive of the Colonies* containing 5,036 manuscript volumes. The section labeled: *Archive dela Marine*, with a total of 2,054 manuscript volumes and a number of loose bundles of manuscripts, contains in its subsection C an inexhaustible source on army and navy chaplains in the colonies. The National Library treasures among its 65,761 manuscript volumes a great number of collections of documents bearing upon the Franciscan missions in Canada and the United States. The fifty volumes of the: *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* list a great number of documents preserved in libraries outside of Paris.

A considerable number of the manuscript volumes in French archives have been indexed in the *Reports on Canadian Archives*

for the years 1874, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1904, 1905, 1912, where the documents bearing on the history of Valuable Canada and the United States are calendared. A very Indexes useful guide to Parisian and other French archives was published in 1911 by J. Raymond Roy at Ottawa: *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada* (pp. iv, 1903). Nancy M. Surrey indexed some 20,000 documents bearing on the history of the United States in her: *Calendar of manuscripts in Paris Archives*, Washington, 1926-1928, 2 vols. W. G. Leland followed with a: *Guide to materials for American History in Archives of Paris*, Washington, 1932. Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders published: *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, Jackson, Miss., 1929, 2 vols. All these guides index valuable material for the history of Franciscan missions in Canada and the United States.

Useful material for Franciscan history is listed, though in less abundance, in the reports on the State archives published by the American Historical Association at Washington, as: *Alabama Archives* (1905); *Archives of Michigan* (1906); Reports *Archives of Maine* (1909); *Archives of Illinois* (1911); *Archives of Louisiana* (1914); *Eighteenth Century French Records in the Archives of Illinois* (1906). Valuable material is also indexed in: *Guide to the materials for United States history in Canadian Archives*, by David W. Parker (Washington, 1913); *Guide to the Manuscript materials relating to American history in German State Archives*, by Marion Dexter Learned (Washington, 1912); *Guide to the manuscript materials for the history of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum and minor London Archives and in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, by Charles M. Andrews and Francis G. Davenport (Washington, 1908); and: *Guide to the manuscript materials in London Archives for the history of the United States since 1783*, by Charles O. Paulin and Fr. L. Paxson (Washington, 1914).

Probably more valuable than guides are transcripts and photostat reproductions made of documents treasured in Europe or America. The Canadian Archives at Ottawa have procured transcripts of several thousands of manuscript volumes Transcripts, from French and English archives. The Library of Photostats Congress in Washington reported in 1933 that 1,600,000 reproductions of historical documents had been procured from Europe. Many of those copies were taken

from the Propaganda Archives in Rome which had been well indexed by Carl Russel Fish in his: *Guide to the materials for American history in Roman and other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911). Indeed, the immense mass of hitherto unknown historical materials presents in the words of Roscoe R. Hill "a virgin field for investigation" to the student of Franciscan history of the United States and Canada.

CONCLUSION

The investigations into the neglected phases of the history of Franciscan missions by the aid of new materials must be made by American friars. As a rule, European friars do not take interest in the history of American missions and the few who do, often lack the geographical and historical attainments necessary for a proper appraisal of the incidental documents. We should expect that at least the continuators of the immortal *Annals of Wadding* would show some keen interest in the history of the missions of the friars in America. Yet a mere glance at the latest volumes published by the Friars Chiappini, Oliger, and Pou, shows that those scholarly friars have little to say about the American missions. For instance the history of the Canadian missions from 1615 till 1630 covers no more than 274 lines or six pages and ten lines, whereas friar Odoric Marie Jouv   published in 1915 a book of 475 pages treating the same subject. The sections on the missions in the United States and Canada incorporated into the *Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane* are, despite completeness in particulars, on the whole very incomplete; in the words of Friar Holzapfel "the task exceeded his forces" (*op. cit.*, 585). The Capuchins possess in the *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini* by Friar Rocco da Cesinale a work which is better rounded off and is written with greater critical acumen; yet unfortunately the work was never finished and but for the Capuchin missions in Acadia the missions in America are not treated. At any rate, a complete and comprehensive history of the missions of the friars in the United States and Canada will never be written unless American friars gird themselves for the work.

DISCUSSION

FR. JOSEPH THOMPSON, O.F.M.:—May I emphasize the importance of seeking and preserving documents, letters and writings of whatever nature bearing on our history? We are proud of our glorious heritage—let us also be enthusiastic collectors and preservers of historic data. Even the data of our own day should not be neglected, for someday it will be history. Much source material that we today prize so highly was certainly not of equal value in the day of its origin. In like manner, many letters and writings that we are inclined to consider negligible today will one day be valuable sources of history. These we should treasure in our archives.

Collecting Old Papers

It is interesting to note that the Huntington Library of San Marino in Southern California, employs a "field representative" whose sole duty is to search for records of historic worth by visiting families and institutions. Why should not each of our Provinces employ a "field representative" to gather bibliographical data on Franciscana? As a matter of fact, I have on my own initiative undertaken this task on a smaller scale and to my own surprise I have gathered some valuable material dealing with the history of California during the Spanish and Mexican eras.

It is surprising to note the places where such historical treasures are sometimes found. More than once I have found priceless papers in old dusty attics and cellars, hidden away in trunks and boxes, discarded and exposed to fire or theft. Often to obtain such papers one must use a bit of psychology in order to break down prejudice or disinclination to part with them. In many cases this was overcome by assuring the members of our proud old California families that the information their papers furnished would bring them credit and representation. Often, too, the fact that you show interest in these old papers determines people to attach an undue value to them. When Bancroft and his agents were engaged in collecting family papers they experienced many instances of overvaluation on the part of their possessors. He tells us that documents destined eventually to feed the flames or to furnish some rat a nest lining suddenly acquired a value to be measured either by the caprice or cupidity of the holders, or by his own apparent indifference or eagerness to obtain them. In his day he notes also that many priceless papers were used either to cook *frijoles* or to make cigarettes.

It is my good fortune to state that my efforts to gather data on California history—including hundreds of papers relating to the history of our Order—have been rewarded far beyond my expectation. It is admitted that mine is one of the most extensive and valuable family-annals in the State, and all the documents are the originals.

THE FRANCISCANS IN NEW SPAIN 1522—1600

FR. JOSEPH THOMPSON, O.F.M.

I

ZEAL FOR THE CONVERSION OF NEW SPAIN

In the year of our Lord 1519, under the pontificate of Leo X, during the reign of Emperor Charles V, Monarch of Spain, the intrepid captain D. Fernando Cortés landed on the shores of Anáhuac, the empire of Montezuma, to conquer it for God and King.

Having landed, he set fire to his fleet, thereby cutting off all hope of retreat; there was now no alternative for his men but to conquer or die. The result is well-known. They were but a handful of adventurers, poorly armed and equipped and facing fierce warlike peoples whose numbers were countless. Only Spanish chivalry could conceive such a Conquest. There were feats of daring and bravery; desperate assaults and equally desperate defences. Then came a siege, perhaps the most memorable in history, and the iron courage of the Spaniards was victorious: the banner of Castile was raised on the loftiest pinnacle of the temple of Tenochticlan, and Anáhuac became New Spain.¹ The conquest of Mexico by Cortés is a story that "has the air of fable rather than of history; a legend of romance—a tale of the genii."²

The Conquest of Mexico must be viewed, as it was viewed by Cortés and his followers, as a holy crusade for the extension of Christianity. Even so bigoted a writer as Prescott acknowledges this, for he declares: "There can be no doubt that Cortés, with every other man in his army, felt he was engaged in a holy crusade; and that independently of personal considerations he could not serve heaven better than by planting the cross on the blood-stained

¹ The great city of Mexico, capital of Montezuma's vast empire, fell on the feast of the Holy Martyrs, Hipólito and Casiano, August 13, 1521.

² Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, New York, 1843, III, 215.

towers of the heathen metropolis.”³ Anyone reading aright the history of the Conquest cannot fail to detect that religious zeal, the spreading of the Catholic faith, was the predominant characteristic and the all-pervading motive of the whole adventure. The noble purpose of converting the natives to Christianity was emphatically brought to the mind of Cortés in the instructions he received from Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba: “To bear in mind above all things that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart, was the conversion of the Indians; and to take the most *careful care*, to omit nothing that might redound to the service of God and his sovereign.”⁴ Intent on carrying out this order, before setting out from Cuba for the Conquest, Cortés constructed a banner after the fashion of the famous *labarum*, which Constantine, the first Christian emperor, had modeled after the cross which had appeared to him in the heavens. The banner of Cortés had a similar inscription. The motto was in Latin: “*Amici, sequamur crucem: si enim fidem habuerimus, in hoc signo vincemus*”: “Friends, let us follow the cross; and under this sign, if we have faith, we shall conquer.” Before battle in his addresses to the soldiers he reminded them that they had come to plant the cross in the midst of heathen nations and thereby bring them from “the reign of the shadow of death.” His battle-cry was always: “Forward, Soldiers, the holy cross is our banner, and under that we shall conquer.” At Tlascala, before he led his army to the siege of Mexico, Cortés issued his well-known Regulations wherein he emphasized again and again that the main purpose of his campaigns was spiritual conquest; without this all temporal acquisitions were to be viewed as unjust.⁵

After the Conquest, while Cortés was establishing government in New Spain, in all his letters and reports to the Emperor he pointed out the necessity of sending missionaries to the newly conquered domain. He wrote of the natives’ apti-

Appeal for tude for religious instruction, of their docility and
Missionaries willingness to be converted to the true faith, and
 insisted that missionaries be sent who would preach
 more through their conduct than by words the observance of
 Christ’s doctrine.⁶

³ Prescott, *ibid.*, III, 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 248-249.

⁵ The full text of these Regulations can be found in Icazbalceta, *Col. Doc.* I, 445-51.

⁶ . . . “Ministros, que más por obras que por palabras les predicasen la

Charles V, Christian emperor that he was, heeded the insistent demands of Cortés to send ministers of Christ's Gospel to his newly acquired kingdom. From the many letters written to him by Cortés, he was aware of the need of spiritual guides for his Mexican subjects. Before the coming of the missionaries who can with truth and justice be called the fully authorized evangelizers of the natives of New Spain, there was much delay in sending ministers of the Gospel. This condition endured for approximately three years. The delay was due perhaps primarily to the fact that for the first years little was known about the Conquest, so that there was a cautious hesitation on the part of both Church and State, much time being spent in deliberating on modes of procedure in so important a matter. Then, because of events beyond human control, the coming of some who in the very beginning had offered themselves for the work of evangelizing New Spain was suddenly made impossible. Mendieta, the Franciscan historian of Mexico, explains this delay by stating that it was in God's own plan, reserving the spiritual conquest of the land for the saintly Fr. Martín Valencia and his companions known as the "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico.⁷

II

THE FIRST MINISTERS TO MEXICO

During the siege of Mexico, among the few soldiers and the thousands of auxiliaries of Cortés, we find religious teachers serving as army chaplains. They were Fr. Olmedo, a religious of the Order of Mercy, and the three diocesan priests, Juan Diaz, Juan de Leon, Juan Luis de Guevara.⁸ Outstanding amongst these chaplains are Olmedo and Diaz. Diaz, according to Bancroft was a member of Grijalva's expedition during which he had offered Mass and baptized the natives.⁹ The

observancia del Santo Evangelio." Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles. Indiana*, Mexico, 1870, III, Cap. III, 182.

⁷ Brasseur de Bourbourg attributes the delay to the hesitation and scruples of theologians and jurists as to Spain's right of Conquest. *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique de la Amerique Centrale*, Paris, 1857-59, IV, 576.

⁸ Bancroft makes mention of a Franciscan, Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea. *Hist. of Mex.*, San Francisco, 1883, II, 157.

⁹ The priest, Alonzo Gonzales, had preceded him in Córdoba's party, and

religious priest Olmedo was known for his zeal, humility, and prudence. He was a devoted chaplain to Cortés and his soldiers, universally loved and revered. He was also interested in the natives and treated them with paternal kindness. By his sound, prudent judgment he directed Cortés in all his acts, playing always the part of a wise counsellor. When Cortés undertook his expedition to Honduras, he commissioned Olmedo to look after the religious interests in which he was so deeply concerned. Upon his death shortly after this, he was universally mourned by both his countrymen and the natives.

We have seen how Cortés, after the Conquest of Mexico, had written letters to Emperor Charles V. acquainting him with the need of religious missionaries to evangelize the natives. We have

Papal Interest also noted the reasons why their coming was long delayed. Upon receipt of Cortés' letters and reports, the Emperor immediately informed Pope Leo X regarding this new discovery of peoples, advising him of their goodwill and of the interest of Cortés in their conversion. Then, too, he conferred with his Council and called together eminent theologians and jurists, primarily to relieve his conscience as to the Crown's right of Conquest,—a scruple which had been expressed by many learned and conscientious scholars. The scruple conquered, the Emperor asked for suggestions for converting the natives of New Spain.

The news of the discovery of a new world and of a hitherto unknown nation was soon spread throughout all Christian kingdoms, whence there emerged many brave and zealous souls ready to lay down their lives for the missionary cause.

The first Franciscans intent upon this difficult mission of conversion, and who received full authorization from Pope and Emperor were Fr. John Clapion, a Fleming, who had been confessor to the Emperor, and Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, known also as de Quiñones, brother of the Count de Luna, and an outstanding member of his Order because of noble blood, strict religious observance, and rare gifts of mind. These two

enjoyed the exceptional honor of having performed the first Christian rites in New Spain. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 6. 9. 25. According to the same author, Diaz was the first parish priest in Mexico, which office he resigned to follow Alvarado into Guatemala. He returned shortly into Mexico and later was killed in an uprising at Quecholac. *Ibid.*, II, 158.

had determined to go to New Spain accompanied by select and competent companions to commence the apostolic labor of converting the Natives. Having the approval of their Emperor, and being in Rome at the time, after receiving the permission of their Father General, they petitioned the Pope that he grant them and all the friars intent upon spreading Christ's teachings in New Spain, the faculties and privileges which his predecessors had conceded in their times to the Franciscans who went to preach the gospel to the heathens. Pope Leo X graciously and most liberally granted them their requests in a Bull dated April 25, 1521. By this Bull the Pope granted the said friars most ample faculties in the administration of the sacraments, and without interference from any authority whether of Church or State, threatening with excommunication any who should presume to interfere with the faculties granted. Also it was provided in the Bull that in places where there would be no bishops, the friars could consecrate altars and chalices, reconcile churches, and supply them with ministers, and grant indulgences, and absolve from all excommunications. Furthermore, they could confirm and ordain to Tonsure and Minor Orders.

With these credentials containing such vast powers and privileges, and with the Pope's blessing, Fr. Francisco de los Angeles and Fr. John Clapion returned to Spain. They had hardly arrived when the Pope died (1521). Adrian VI, who had been the Emperor's teacher, and who at the time of Leo's death was Bishop of Tortosa, succeeded to the papacy. The Emperor had expressed through letters his desire to confer with his former teacher on the matter of sending missionaries to New Spain, and had hoped to meet him before he left Spain for Rome, but the meeting did not take place owing to the Pope's quick departure. Thereupon Charles V. supplicated the newly elected Pope to give amply of his powers to the Mendicant Orders, and *especially to the Friars Minor*, so that as his delegates they might go into New Spain to carry out an apostolate of conversion. These ample faculties were solicited because the great distance between the conquered territory and Rome made ordinary recourse to the Apostolic See of too long duration. The Roman Pontiff acceded to the monarch's request and expedited a Bull addressed directly to him wherein by generous concessions he authorized all Medicant Friars and especially the Franciscans of the Observance designated by their superiors

**Armed with
Credentials**

to fully enter upon the conversion of natives in the Indies.¹⁰ The Bull was issued at Zaragoza, city of Aragon, May 9, 1522.¹¹ In accordance with the dispositions of this Bull only those members of the Mendicant Orders could be selected for the conversion of New Spain who by their life and talents were fitted, and their fitness had to be attested by the Emperor and his royal Council. Again ample faculties were given.¹² The religious prelates and their delegates received the full power needed for the conversion of the natives and for the maintenance of the faith. They could exercise all episcopal acts, save those that actually required episcopal consecration, in places where no such prelates were to be found, or where the distance from the episcopal see was of more than two days' journey.¹³ Acting upon the Bull of Adrian VI, Charles V determined that the first missionaries to be sent to New Spain should be Friars Minor. We have already seen how Fr. Francisco de los Angeles and Fr. John Clapion had gone to Spain equipped with full credentials for their journey to New Spain. This was in the year 1523. It was the season of Pentecost and the General Chapter was to be held at Burgos, so they decided to await the election of a new General to receive from him a new authorization and blessing on the enterprise, such as they already had from the Pope. Now, too, was the time to select able companions, because during the General Chapter there would be gathered at Burgos the foremost friars from every part of Christendom. But their plans were frustrated. At the Chapter Fr. Francisco de los Angeles was elected General (1523),¹⁴ and Fr. John Clapion's going was hindered by death; but soon another leader was found in the person of Fr. Martín de Valencia, who gathered about him a group of hitherto little-known friars to undertake the tremendous apostolic task of evangelizing New Spain. This band of mission-

¹⁰ ". . . omnes fratres Ordinum Mendicantium, praesertim Ordinis Minorum regularis observantiae." *Bull. of Adrian, VI*, May 9, 1522.

¹¹ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. VI, 192.

¹² ". . . Tengan toda la autoridad plena del Sumo Pontífice." *Ibid.*, Chap. VI.

¹³ In later years at the request of Fr. Vicente Lunel, Commissary General of the Franciscans, Pope Paul III in a Bull dated February 15, 1535, extended this episcopal power without restriction as to distance, but the grant of power was subject to the respective bishop of the diocese. The full texts of the Bulls of Leo X, Adrian VI, and Paul III can be found in Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. V, VI, VII.

¹⁴ According to Mendieta, Fr. De los Angeles later became Cardinal of Santa Cruz. *Op. cit.*, Lib. V, Pte. I, Cap. XXVI, 628.

aries is known as the "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico. But before entering upon the history of the Twelve, let us briefly tell about a smaller group which preceded them to New Spain.

Acting upon the authorization granted by Pope Adrian in 1522, to "all Mendicant Orders, especially the Minorites designated by their superiors" to engage in the conversion of the natives of New Spain, three Flemish Friars received permission from their provincial superior to undertake this work so long delayed. Whereupon they went to Spain with the Emperor Charles V where they received from him a set of rules governing their conduct as missionaries. So "with the approval of their Provincial but without *papal authorization*," the three Flemish Franciscans set sail, namely two priests, John of Tecto and John of Aora, and the lay-brother Peter of Ghent. They left Seville on May 13, 1523, landed at Vera Cruz in Mexico on August 13, and before the end of August reached the Aztec capital.¹⁵ Therefore, the Three Flemings were at least the first friars to *arrive* in New Spain intent upon the conversion of the natives. Mendieta further observes that because their coming was without papal authority, yet with the approval of the Emperor, they undertook nothing in an official capacity. If I understand the text correctly, he means until the arrival of the Twelve.¹⁶

The Three Flemings were received with the reverence due their sacred calling. They took up headquarters at Tezcuco, but lacking a knowledge of the language their presence at the capital meant little to the Spanish. Anyway, they had come to minister to the natives, and so they set about in earnest to study their language and to minister to their spiritual wants by catechising and building numerous edifices in New Spain. Mendieta states that they were assisted by two other Franciscans who had come close after the Conquest, both dying after a short time. He is ignorant of

¹⁵ Steck, *The First Half-Century of Spanish Dominion in Mexico*, St. Louis, 1936, 56. Mendieta observes that because these three came solely with the permission of their Provincials and not with papal authority or mandate of their Father General, they cannot be looked upon as the first Franciscans in New Spain. This designation, according to him, applies only to the so-called "Twelve Apostles." *Op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. IV: "Hallaron los doce algunos religiosos de su orden que habian venido antes que ellos a esta tierra, no con autoridad apostólica (como ellos traian) ni con mandato del ministro general, sino con sola licencia de sus provinciales."

¹⁶ "... y así no hicieron cosa *de proposito*, hasta que vinieron los doce que la [i. e., autoridad del Papa] trajeron." *Ibid.*, Cap. IV.

their names but knew of their burial at Tezcuco.¹⁷ We regret to know so little about the apostolic labors of these three zealous missionaries, but the chroniclers of those times seem to extol only those who came to Mexico with full authorization. According to Alegre, these first friars to come to New Spain baptized over one million natives.¹⁸ A brief life sketch of these three men of God is appropriate here.

Juan de Tecto was the Father Guardian of the convent of St. Francis at Ghent. He was the Emperor's confessor, and a man noted for profound learning, having held the professorship of theology at Paris for fourteen years. He was unequalled

Juan de Tecto in knowledge by any who came to New Spain.¹⁹ Upon his arrival in New Spain, Father Tecto studied the native language and gathered the children both of Tezcuco and Mexico City for instruction. After a year spent in this difficult task of learning the language, the Twelve arrived. Seeing heathen temples and the Indians still sacrificing to their gods, the new missionaries asked Tecto and his two companions what they were doing, and what program they were intending. To this Tecto replied: "We are learning a theology wholly unknown to St. Augustine," meaning by "theology," the language of the natives, without a knowledge of which very little could have been accomplished in their apostolate.

In the year 1525, Cortés went to Honduras and took with him Fr. Tecto to whom he was much attached. Fr. Tecto, ever zealous for new spiritual conquests, consented to go. But for want of provisions, many perished, Fr. Tecto being one of the first victims. Worn to a skeleton from sheer weakness he sought the shade of a tree and there gave up his noble soul to God. There under a tree in Honduras, far from his native land, and even from the land of his adoption, his soul still thirsting for souls, he died of starvation, thus actually giving his life for his fellow men—an apostle, a saint, a martyr!

Fr. Juan de Aora was already advanced in years when he came

¹⁷ "Los dos de ellos, de cuyos nombres no tuve noticia porque murieron en breve, aunque supe que se enterraron en Tezcuco." *Op. cit.*, Cap. XIV, 215. They probably came from the Islands (Antilles), where already there were several convents.

¹⁸ "Catequizado y bautizado por su mano mas de un millón de indios." Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesús*, I, 180.

¹⁹ Being the confessor of the Emperor, the latter at first opposed his going to Mexico, but the friar's insistent pleadings won the royal approval.

to New Spain. He was a constant companion of Fr. Peter de Gante at Tezcucó, applying himself most zealously in instructing the natives. According to Mendieta, he died soon after his arrival in New Spain. His body was at first placed in the home of the citizen of Tezcucó where the Three Flemings, upon their arrival, had found quarters and hospitality. A chapel for saying Mass had been added, and there the body remained until a convent dedicated to St. Anthony in the same city had been completed. Others seem to imply that Juan de Aora met death by drowning, having accompanied Fr. Juan de Tecto in the expedition of Cortés. According to these authorities, he was one of the victims in the sinking of the vessel sent by Cortés to Mexico upon his reaching Honduras.²⁰

By far the most outstanding of the Three Flemings was Pedro de Gante, a lay-brother, perhaps the foremost teacher and apostle of all the Franciscans who came to New Spain. He was of royal blood, being a relation of the Emperor Charles V. In early youth, he entered the order of Friars Minor. Of exceptional talent, he could have easily attained the priesthood, but out of humility he preferred to remain a lay-brother. While occupied in a lay-brother's chores, he heard of Cortés' discovery and Conquest of a new continent and of the barbarous and idolatrous nation inhabiting it. There was born within him an enthusiasm for the conversion of these new peoples and it resulted in his coming to New Spain. His special call was to bring to the newly discovered inhabitants not only spiritual benefits but to a very marked degree temporal blessings. He was the first teacher of the Indians of New Spain, not only in the capacity of a catechist, but also he instructed them how to read and write, sing, and play musical instruments. He first taught at Tezcucó where he gathered about him some of the children of the chiefs; later he taught in Mexico where he labored during the major part of his life, with the exception of a few years spent at Tlascala. In Mexico he built the beautiful chapel of San José, in the rear of the little church of San Francisco which was the mother church of New Spain.²¹

²⁰ Bernal Diaz' "Juan el Flamenco," *Hist. verd.*, 208, most probably refers to Juan de Aora because we know that the other Juan Flamenco (Tecto) died of starvation in the same expedition.

²¹ During his apostolate this indefatigable zealot of Christ built over one hundred churches.

He also constructed there the first seminary in New Spain, a school into which were gathered the youth of the land. Here they were taught all the manual arts. Near to the school Br. Pedro built a cell whither he betook himself frequently throughout the day to meditate and to pray, emerging at intervals to supervise the work of the boys. His great concern, however, was that they be instructed in religion and that they attend Sunday Mass. In the absence of a priest, he preached, having mastered the native tongue. Mendieta tells us that Br. Pedro stuttered and that he could not be understood by his brethren when he spoke either the language of the natives or the Castilian, but that the Indians always understood him in their language as though he were native-born. He established confraternities and at the seminary of San José were procured all the materials for the enhancement of divine cult, such as vestments, crosses, candle holders, banners. For fifty years did this man of God labor in the land of the Aztecs in successful apostolic labors numerous and varied, and always in abject humility, with no other interest at heart than God's glory and the salvation of souls.

Beloved by all the Indians, they had recourse to him in all their wants and though only an humble lay-brother, in the spiritual and ecclesiastical government of the Indians of Mexico City and its environments, his influence and authority were sought by those in high places in Church and State. Fr. Alonso de Montúfar, Dominican Archbishop of Mexico, put great confidence in Pedro de Gante's sound judgment, and with candor spoke of him as his trustworthy guide. He was wont to say: "I am not the Archbishop of Mexico, but Friar Pedro de Gante, Franciscan lay-brother." Indeed, he could have risen to the highest offices in the hierarchy of Mexico. Had he consented to be a priest, he might even have become archbishop of Mexico. Being a relation of Charles V and high in his esteem and affection, the archbishopric of Mexico was actually offered to him through the apostolic Nuncio of the court. Two other suggestions came to him that he become a priest, the one from Pope Paul III and the other from the General Chapter held in Rome under the Generalship of Fr. Vincente Lunel, but he rejected all three proposals, preferring to continue in the calling of a lay-brother—his first vocation. His zeal for the conversion of the

Mexicans was not bounded by his own personal endeavors; he was also an enthusiastic propagandist and in many letters written to his Flemish brethren, he urged them to come into the new land to labor there in Christ's vineyard, then so much in need of laborers.

The natives, and especially those in Mexico City, held him in high esteem and veneration. They gave proof of this on the occasion of Br. Pedro's return to Mexico from Tlascala, where he had been sent for a brief period. The Indians went out on the great lake of Tezcuco with a flotilla of canoes to meet him and enacted for his enjoyment a naval battle. He died 1572.

There was unusual mourning among the natives, demonstrated in wailing and tears. They thronged from every part of the country to pay tribute to one who had been a loving, provident father to them. The offerings they brought supplied the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City with provisions for an entire year. Many went into personal mourning. The Indians asked that he be buried in the Chapel of San José, which request the prelates granted. His grave became a place of pilgrimage and the anniversary of his death was attended by multitudes who venerated him as a saint. His painted image was to be found throughout the whole of New Spain, together with those of this fellow-friars, the famous "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico.

III

THE "TWELVE APOSTLES" OF MEXICO

We shall now take up the fascinating story of the "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico. We have seen how the plans of Fr. Francisco de los Angeles and his companion Fr. John Clapion to go to

New Spain for the evangelization of the natives were frustrated, the latter having died en route, while the **Martín de** Valencia former was elected to the Generalship of the Order.

Providence seemed to have had a hand in what so unexpectedly transpired. His new office gave Francisco de los Angeles powers for a more direct prosecution of the program that was uppermost in his mind and deepest in his heart, namely, to provide for the conversion of the countless natives of New Spain. After earnest prayer, he began scrutinizing the many friars who had assembled at the General Chapter, and he found the man suited to his desire in the person of Fr. Martín de Valencia, Pro-

vincial of San Gabriel since 1518. However, he did not as yet communicate his decision to Fr. Martín, because he first had to get the approval of the Emperor and his Council upon whose approbation the appointment depended.

Immediately upon the close of the Chapter, the General went before the Emperor to make his recommendations to him and his Council. The appointment was approved, whereupon the General went directly to visit the Province of San Gabriel where he held Chapter in the Convent of Belvis, known also under the name of Nuestra Señora de Berrogal, which had been founded by Valencia himself. During this Chapter the Father General commanded Fr. Martín of Valencia to select twelve companions, in accordance with the number that Christ had selected, and to go to preach the gospel to the peoples newly discovered by Cortés in the Indies of New Spain. The Father General's command was not difficult to obey because Fr. Martín had long sought to go to work among the heathen. He had been dissuaded from going to the Moors of Berberia years back by his spiritual director who had told him then that in God's own time he would receive the call he so desired. Now he fell upon his knees and gave thanks to God that at last in his fiftieth year, with hope fast fading, his one ambition was to be gratified. Leaving Fr. Martín in his own Province to select his twelve companions, the Father General hastened to the Province of The Angels, where he was to tarry in the convent of Holy Mary of the Angels until the Feast of St. Francis and where he would give them instructions, credentials, and letters patent for departure.²²

Having selected his twelve companions, ten priests and two lay-brothers, the new head of this apostolic group repaired with them to the convent of Santa Maria de los Angeles, as had been decided, where they found the Minister General. This was **Fr. General's** on October 4, Feast of St. Francis, a day most appropriate, because the General or successor of St. Francis was sending them forth in the name of their great founder whose worthy sons were then spreading Christ's gospel throughout every part of the world. Consonant, too, with the mission was the convent chosen, namely that of Mary Queen of the Angels, named after the parent church

²² For the life of Valencia: Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, Mexico, 1697, 93, 148-156; Mendieta, *op. cit.*, 517-519; Torquemada, *Monarquia indiana*, Madrid, 1723.

of the Order whence St. Francis was accustomed to send out his brethren to evangelize the world of his day. On this occasion the Father General gave Father Martín de Valencia and his companions the written instruction that was to be their guide in their new field of labor. After a brief exhortation reminding them of the sublimity and importance of the commission, and pointing out the sacrifices it would entail, he exhorted them to go forth upon the great venture running as it were on two feet—love of God and love of neighbor. That they might the better accomplish their mission according to the rules of their Order, he set down several ordinances for their guidance:

1. Fr. Martín was appointed "Custodio" of the Custodia of Santo Evangelio. The instruction is addressed to "Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, ministro general y siervo de toda la Orden, de los frailes menores, al venerable y devoto padre Fr. Martín de Valencia, Custodio de la Custodia, del Santo Evangelio en la Nueva España y tierra de Yucatán."²³

2. They were being sent in obedience to the command not only of the Father General, Vicar of St. Francis, but also to that of the Vicar of Christ, the Pope, who in an apostolic brief to the General stated that he was sending them with apostolic authority. ". . . los envia 'auctoritate apostolica' como vicario de Christo."²⁴

3. Full control over the friars in New Spain was accorded to Valencia.

4. Anyone who objected to remain was to depart to the Province of Santa Cruz on the island bearing that name.

5. The Provincial rights acquired by the friars in Spain were to continue in force, so that if anyone returned he was to be received again as a son of his Province.

6. At the death of the Custodio, or when his triennium expired, the eldest priest was to call Chapter, to which those friars, who could do so within thirty days, were bound to come; and by their votes elect a new Custodio.

7. The Custodio must either in person or through a delegate attend the General Chapter every six years for the election of a new General, where he might cast a vote, if permitted to; and to give reports and receive instructions.

8. The friars should make every effort to live together in one

²³ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. IX, 200. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

place in order to promote conversion by their exemplary conduct; if this is not possible, they must form groups of at least two or four, one of them as superior, thus to merit the rewards of obedience, and at a distance of about a fifteen days' journey, so as to be able to meet with the Custodio once a year for consultation. Further ordinances were left to their own good judgment, to be decided according to circumstances of locality and conditions, and to the decisions of the General Chapter, when the new territory would become better known.

These instructions were given and sealed in the Convent of Santa Maria de los Angeles in the Province of los Angeles on the Feast of St. Francis, 1523.²⁵ We cannot fail to note that the government of the Order at the time of the "Twelve Apostles" was practically the same as it is in our day.²⁶

Father Valencia and his twelve companions accepted these instructions of their Father General with Franciscan submission. They remained in the Convent of Santa Maria de los Angeles with the Minister General throughout the whole of October, strengthening their souls for the spiritual combats ahead. Finally, anxious to be on their way, they bade adieu to their fellow-friars of their own Province, and received from the Minister General their patent or "obedience." Fr. Valencia and his successors were thus invested with complete jurisdiction. This document was signed and sealed in the same convent where they were residing, Santa Maria de los Angeles, October 30, 1523.²⁷

We have already seen what ample Papal powers were granted the friars departing for New Spain. So now, having received

²⁵ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. IX, 200-202.

²⁶ There were four grades of superiors; 1) the *Presidente*, head of a group of two or more friars living together at any place, corresponding to our *Praeses*, superior in a "Residence"; out of courtesy the *Presidente* was frequently addressed as Guardian. 2) Next came the Guardian proper, superior of a convent properly so-called, numbering twelve voters who elected him. 3) Then, the *Custodio* with control over a certain number of convents. 4) The Provincial was the ruler of a province, to which rank a *Custodia* was raised when the formation was warranted by a determined number of convents, sufficient resources, and population; seven convents might be deemed sufficient for such, but a dozen were judged a more appropriate number. Superior to the Provincial was the General of the Order, with his General Commisarios, or *Visitadores*. Franciscanos Instruc. 139-143 in Prov. Sto. Evang. MS. Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.* II, 163.

²⁷ The text of this patent, as well as the text of the instructions given to Valencia and his companions, can be found in Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. IX, 200-202; Cap. X, 203-206.

their instructions and their letter of obedience, with the blessing of the Minister General they returned to their Province of San Gabriel to bid farewell to their brethren there and to make preparation for their final departure.²⁸

Here it is proper to give the names of this apostolic group.

Besides Valencia they numbered ten priests and two lay-brothers. Their names were: Fr. Francisco de Soto, Fr. Martín de la Coruña, Fr. José de la Coruña, Fr. Juan Xuarez, The "Twelve Fr. Antonio de Cuidad Rodrigo, and Fr. Toribio Apostles" de Benavente, "preachers and learned confessors"; Fr. García de Cisneros, and Fr. Luis de Fuensalida, "preachers"; Fr. Juan de Ribas and Fr. Francisco Ximenes, "priests"; Fr. Andrés de Córdoba and Fr. Bernardino de la Torre, "devout religious lay-brothers."²⁹

Setting out from the Convent of Belvis, Province of San Gabriel, towards the close of 1523, they went directly to Sevilla where they arrived two or three days before the feast of the Immaculate Conception. On the feast's vigil the Minister General also arrived. They remained in Sevilla Journey to New Spain until Epiphany. One of their number, Fr. José de la Coruña had been dispatched to the court on business, and because of his long delay was eliminated.³⁰ Then, one of the lay brothers, Fr. Bernardino de la Torre, it seems was un-

²⁸ Before leaving Spain, the twelve also received a royal *Cedula* recommending them to the governors of the Indies. This was dated December 12, 1523, and recorded in *Libro de Cabildo*, MS, March 9, July 28, 1525. Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, V, II, 163.

²⁹ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. X, 203. They nearly all belonged to the Province of San Gabriel. Soto was recognized as a man of marked intelligence and had occupied the position of Guardian. Fuensalida became the successor to Valencia, and figured as one of the leading apostles. The family name of Benavente, known afterwards as Motolinia, was Paredes, it seems, for so he signs the preface of his *Hist. Ind.*, 13. Xuarez, written also Juarez, or Suarez, became the Guardian of Huexotzinco. Afterwards, together with the lay-brother Palos, an exemplary preacher among the natives, he joined the Narvaez expedition to Florida, according to Herrera, dec. IV, Lib. IV, Cap. III, followed by Vetancurt, *Menolog.* 32, without date. The other lay-brother Córdoba died in Jalisco, and was buried in Izatlan, his relics being held in great veneration. Their biographies are found in Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. V, 611-628; Torquemada, III, 432-447; Fernandez, *Hist. Eccles.*, 52, 63, et seq.; Vetancurt, *Menolog.*, 32, etc. seq.; Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, V, II, 164. Note verbatim.

³⁰ The Pope had recently died and Beaumont believes an approval of the friar-patent may have been sought from the new pontiff. *Crón. Mich.*, III, 183. Whatever his mission, José delayed and did not join the group. Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 164.

worthy of the apostolate, so another brother was selected, namely, Fr. Juan de Palos, from the Province of Andalucia. Thus the number twelve, in conformity with the Apostolic Twelve, was again complete. Whereupon receiving for the second time the blessing of their Minister General and bearing together with it that of the supreme Pontiff, Adrian VI, granted, as we have seen through Papal Bulls, they arrived at the port of San Lucar de Barramenda, where they embarked on Tuesday, the 25th of January, 1524 the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. Their departure on this feast bears a congruous significance, because the Twelve, like Paul, were Christ's "chosen vessels," to go into distant parts of the heathen world to spread his Gospel and to establish churches in his name.

On Friday, February 4, they arrived in Gomera, one of the Canary Islands. Going ashore, they remained there until the following day when they again took ship. After twenty-seven days they reached the Island of San Juan de Puerto Rico on March 3. After a rest of ten days, they set sail on March 13, which was Passion Sunday, and entered Española, or Santo Domingo, on Wednesday of Holy Week.⁸¹

When word reached Don Fernando Cortés, the Governor of New Spain, that the "Twelve Apostles" had arrived, he rejoiced and gave thanks to God, and then dispatched officers and servants to receive them in his name and to provide for their protection and comfort. This provision was necessary because the country had just recently been conquered and there was much wanting to complete the newly established government; and while the "Twelve Apostles" were on their way to Mexico, which was about sixty leagues away,

⁸¹ According to Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 164, they were accompanied also by twelve Dominicans, commissioned like them for missionary work in the Indies. According to the same authority, the twelve Franciscans found hospitality with the Dominicans at Santo Domingo. The twelve Dominicans remained there, to await, it is said, their prelate, but their long delay implies that New Spain had not yet been definitely accepted as their destination. The Dominicans followed the Franciscans to New Spain in 1526. The equipment so far had been in common for both orders. Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 164; Remesal, *Hist. Chyapa*, 10.

During his stay at Santo Domingo, Father Valencia was invested with the additional power of Inquisitor with the title "Commissary of the Inquisition in New Spain," conferred by the Inquisitor Pedro de Córdoba, Vicar General of the Dominicans then at Santo Domingo. The slightly restricted authority lasted until the Dominicans arrived in 1526. *Ibid.*, 165. For Mendieta's apology for details of the trip, cf. his *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, Cap. XI, 208-10.

Cortés called together the Indian chiefs (caciques), requesting that they be in readiness to extend with him a worthy reception to the missionaries. On their way to the capital, the friars stopped at Tlascala to rest, and to see with their own eyes the vast population for which the city was known. For this purpose they awaited market day when the majority of the inhabitants came together for barter. They beheld there a multitude such as they had never before seen, and their souls were overjoyed at the prospect of such a spiritual opportunity.

The Indians followed them in utter amazement, beholding how they trudged along barefooted and in ragged dress, in so marked contrast to the Spanish soldiers. "Who are these men, so humble, yet so revered? they asked. "What coarse and patched garments they wear!" "They are so unlike the other Castellians!" "Poor men!!" They were constantly repeating the word "Motolinea, Motolinea!!" Upon hearing this term so often repeated, one of the friars, Fr. Toribio de Benavente asked, "What means this word?" "Poor," replied a soldier, "and it is applied to the humbleness of your appearance." "Then shall it be my name," rejoined the friar, and from that day on Fr. Toribio called and signed himself Toribio Motolinea, a name that was to go down in history as that of a zealous apostle and illustrious historian.³²

Ignorant as yet of the language, the friars attempted through signs to give the wondering natives an idea of their holy mission; pointing towards heaven they endeavored to convey to the natives the idea that they had come to teach them of Him who dwells there and whose blessings they had come to confer.

When the Twelve approached Mexico³³ Cortés, the governor, came forth to welcome them with "a brilliant retinue, including King Quauhtemotzin, the leading captains and chiefs, Friars Olmedo and Gante, and with the entire city following."

**Cortés
Welcomes
the Twelve**

Among these "great" to welcome the friars was also the famous D. Pedro Alvarado, conqueror of Guatemala and "Tonatiuh," *child of the sun* to the Aztecs during

³² Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, Cap. XII, 210-211; Molina, *Vocabulario*; Bernal Diaz states the name was applied by Mexican chiefs because Toribio gave the natives everything that he received. *Hist. Verdad*, 191; this version is less credible. Vasquez, *Chrón. de Guat.*, 527-534, points out that the friar signed Motolinea Fr. Toribio, *Poor* Fr. Toribio, with true allusion to the meaning. Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 165.

³³ June 23. Note *Mex. in Monumentos Dom. Esp.*, MS., 322; though according to others, a few days earlier. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 165.

the Conquest. Beginning with Cortés down to the last Spanish officer, each dismounted and falling on bended knee kissed the hands of the religious. Thus was the importance and the sacred character of the friars' mission impressed upon the natives. Hitherto, they had never witnessed such a display of humility and submission on the part of the Conquerors who barely recognized Montezuma's person and who with haughty condescension accepted the greetings of superiors, and now the governor himself with his retinue of officers "in brilliant array, decked with gold and precious stones, humbled themselves to dust to the barefooted and meanly-clad strangers." Were they gods in disguise?!

There can be no other interpretation to this act of Cortés and his officers than that of sincere reverence for those whom they looked upon as holy ministers of God coming to accomplish a conquest compared to which theirs was unworthy of being even recorded. The sincerity of Cortés' act is seen in the words which he addressed to the assembled chiefs after he had lodged the friars with affectionate hospitality. He gave the reason for his demonstrative reception accorded these humble friars, explaining why he, although governor of their land and representative of the mightiest ruler in the world, had nevertheless bowed to these lowly men in obedience and submission: His power and authority were limited to things pertaining to the body, things external, passing, corruptible; but theirs extended beyond the limits of earth, concerned as it is with things imperishable, with human souls, worth more than all the treasures of earth; these men had come to teach them how to save their souls unto a life that endures forever; they were to be their *true* "teopixques," priests of God, directing them on the way that leads to Him. "Wherefore," he cried out to them, "love them and revere them as the guardians of your souls, as messengers of the most high God, and as your spiritual fathers. Harken to their teachings, obey their commands, follow their admonitions—and on your part (Cortés now turns to the Indian chiefs) inculcate in your subjects reverence and obedience to these holy men, for such is my will and the will of the Emperor, as well as God's, who sent them to you."⁸⁴

It would seem that only a prejudiced mind, rash in judgment of motives, could see in all this but *politic self-abasement* on the part of Cortés, as Bancroft does.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. XI, 212-213.

⁸⁵ "With sincere devotion to the Church, Cortés combined profound respect

Bancroft adduces the following reasons for what he terms Cortés' "politic motives" in his reception to the Twelve: "The friars possessed immense power, representing as they did the Church, wherein still they deposited an influence before which the mightiest of princes bent submissive and at whose hands the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain received the heavenly title to half a world.—

Such personages must be courted, not alone for their control over the soldiers and colonists, but for their influence at the court, to which they would report directly or indirectly concerning the condition of the country and the management of the royal interests; reports that would have more weight than those from other sources. Then again these friars were destined to exercise control over the natives far more effective than that obtained by force of arms, and thereby assure possession of the Conquest to the crown and of grants and serfs to the conquerors. It was well, therefore, while propitiating these men to impress on the natives their sacred character, and to set a striking example of the respect that should be paid to them. This politic deference Cortés constantly maintains and with good effect on all concerned. On one occasion it is related that the inhabitants of Tezcuco were indignant because one of their chiefs had been flogged for not attending mass. Informed of this Cortés concluded for a little by-play to assume the rôle of martyr. Informing the priests of his purpose, he absented himself from mass, for which delinquency he was sent for and stripped and flogged by the friars in the presence of a number of the *mutinous* natives, and thus reconciled them to the despotic acts of their spiritual guardians." ³⁶

Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, who followed close upon the "Twelve Apostles" in New Spain, and who for more than sixty years engaged in the conversion of the natives, has left in his writings the address which the Twelve delivered upon their arrival to the assembled chiefs in response to the words of Cortés. Since they could not as yet have spoken in the language of the Aztecs, their words were most probably communicated by the mouth of Ge-

for its ministers, as we have seen. Nevertheless, his extreme humiliation on the present occasion was dictated by politic motives." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 166. ³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 166 f. Beaumont, *Cron. Mich.*, III, 186; Vetancurt, *Cron.*, 2; Cortés, Cartas etc. in *Pacheco and Cárdenas*, Col. Doc. IV, 546, V, 449 f. The natives have commemorated several of these acts in their picture writings. Torquemada, III, 21 f.; Herrera, dec. III, Lib. II, Cap. IX.

rónimo de Águilar, or some other interpreter of Cortés.³⁷ The burden of their message to the assembled chiefs and people after greeting them was that although they had been received with such demonstrative ceremony by the governor, they were not to be looked upon as supernatural beings, because they were mere mortal men like themselves, weak, and made of the same perishable clay. They had come in the name of the Supreme Ruler known as the Holy Father, whose office it is to govern men in spiritual matters; and knowing from the reports of their Governor D. Fernando Cortés that they were in need of guides in this regard, they came as his ambassadors to point out to them the way to the attainment of their spiritual well-being. For this they had come from afar, risking perils of land and sea; they wanted neither their gold nor their silver, their only interest and motive for coming to them was the salvation of their souls, and that they might carry out this mission successfully they begged of the chiefs that they deliver to them their little ones for instruction, who in turn would help them teach their elders.

To these words of the Twelve, the chiefs gave grateful response, welcoming them and offering to deliver to them their children as they had requested.

Thus was taken the first step in the great apostolate of these missionaries, namely, the instruction of adults through the little ones. How wise this program was and with what wonderful results it met, will be seen in the course of this narrative.

We have seen that before the arrival of the "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico, other friars had preceded them to New Spain. According to Mendieta (*Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, Cap. XIV) they were

five in number. They had come, as we have

First Chapter, already noted, without apostolic authority and
Its Enactments (unlike the Twelve) without the mandate of the Minister General, but solely by license of their provincials (*Ibid.*). Therefore, according to the same writer, they cannot be counted as "the first." "Y por eso no pueden llamarse los primeros." Two of these had accompanied the army of Conquest serving as chaplains. Diego Altamirano and Pedro Melgarejo. The other three were Flemings from the Convent of San Francisco, Ghent, and they had come with authorization of

³⁷ Bancroft adds Águilar to the number of those who might be considered the first religious ministers of New Spain, "who had studied theology and assisted at service." *Op. cit.*, V, II, 158.

the Emperor to evangelize the natives, and if need be, to lay down their lives in the cause. Such authorization was readily granted by Charles V, they being his countrymen; besides, one of them, Juan de Tecto, was the Emperor's confessor, and the other, Peter de Gante, a relative. When they arrived in 1523, Mexico City lay in ruins, consequent upon the attack of the Spaniards, so they had gone to Tezcuco where they found residence in the home of one of the city's leading citizens.³⁸

When the "Twelve Apostles" arrived these five had already advanced in the knowledge of the Aztec and were instructing the children and relatives of their host.

Fr. Martín de Valencia added these to his group of twelve, making in all seventeen missionaries.³⁹

Looking about and realizing the vastness of their territory, divided into separate provinces each with its own teeming population, Valencia immediately saw the necessity of parceling the field among the brethren, thus to reach out in quicker time to every part. They remained in Mexico City fifteen days after their arrival, praying day and night, adding meditation, fasts, and disciplines in supplication for God's help in the apostolate which they were about to undertake in so formidable and vast an empire.

At the end of this fortnight, Valencia gathered his friars in Chapter to consult with them on the best means of conversion. This Chapter, the first in New Spain, was held on the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, July 2, 1524. "Día de la Visitación de Nuestra Señora."⁴⁰ Valencia gave the assembled friars freedom to elect a new Custodio stating that he had come merely as the Commissary until reaching New Spain; but he was unanimously elected and thus the Custodia of Santo Evangelio was officially established on the above date. On this occasion the Custodia was divided into four districts, according to distance and locality, whence other districts distant more than twenty leagues from Mexico might be the more easily reached. These districts, centered

³⁸ Those who lived in Tezcuco had been driven thither by the hostilities encountered from the Spaniards at Mexico City, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 81, and not so incorrectly, for the Flemings were looked upon as intrusive foreigners, and not well-versed in Spanish. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 168.

³⁹ Bancroft: "Shortly after his entry into Mexico, Valencia summoned the five friars who were already in the country," *op. cit.*, 167, in text. Then in a note: "The Three Flemings, Varilla, who came with Zuazo, and Olmedo probably." Mendieta refers to the fifth as a Franciscan. He as well as the fourth "vinieron . . . al tiempo de la conquista," *op. cit.*, 167.

⁴⁰ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. IV, 216.

around Mexico, were Tezcuco, Huexotzinco, and Tlascala. At that time Tezcuco counted a population of seventy thousand, Tlascala two hundred thousand, while that of Huexotzinco was eighty thousand. Four friars were assigned to each district, Valencia with four remaining at the capital.⁴¹ After deliberating on how best to approach the natives in the matter of their conversion, and listening to the parting words of their Custodio, and receiving his blessing, those who were destined to the district outside Mexico embraced their brethren and went forth to begin their arduous apostolate. But before beginning the story of the apostolic labors of these Twelve, it might be of interest to learn something of their own manner of life.

Every three years Chapters were held to elect Superiors, and every eighteen months an intermediate meeting took place to discuss affairs. They were attended by the guardians of convents

and by *discretos*, one elected for each convent to represent the Presidencia. The *discretos* had to be elected by the representatives of at least four Presidencia and had to be priests who had said Mass for three years.

They had equal vote with the guardians at the Chapter. This was held at the most convenient meeting place in New Spain, usually in Mexico City, and continued for seven or eight days.

At the first Chapter, and subsequently, the rules of the order were duly considered with regard to modifications required by circumstances. Novices had to submit in all strictness to the general Constitutions, and Indians, mestizos, and creoles could be admitted only by the provincials and *discretos* jointly, after a probationary term at the convent, the vote of whose inmates was required as one of the conditions for reception. By regulation of 1565, the examination of novices was made stricter. One hour of mental prayer with lesson was required in the early part of the night, and another after matins; discipline three times a week, with extras during Lent and feast days. Alms must be asked only for actual sustenance and sacristy purposes, under penalty. If the collection did not suffice, then the sovereign and *encomenderos* might be applied to, as the Indians were too poor to be molested. The noon-day and evening meal should conform to regulated rations, except on feast days when a little extra might be taken at noon. The dress must always be of sack cloth and consist of only one robe

⁴¹ Torquemada, III, 25-28, 303, following chiefly Motolinia and Mendieta.

and tunic. Blue was adopted as the cheapest and most convenient color. Friars must not interfere in disputes between Indians and Spaniards or between Indian women, or in appointment of rulers, or with judges, etc. A chorister and a lay brother had no active vote till after wearing the robe for three years and passing the twenty-fifth year of his age. A guardian might be elected in a convent with twelve voters, not counting Presidencia members. Newly arrived members obtained a vote for *discreto* only after one year's residence, and for guardian after two years, unless given the privilege by Chapter, in consideration of ability. None could be elected Provincial, definidor, or comisario of the province until five years' residence. For every friar who died one mass was to be chanted in each Franciscan house, with vigil; in addition to this each priest received four masses; every chorister, three funeral services, and every lay-brother, three hundred prayers (Our Fathers), etc. Every Sunday services must be held for the dead members.—*Francis. Constit.*, 123-34, in Prov. Sti. Evang. MS.—verbatim from Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 168.

IV

THE APOSTOLATE

Schooled in strict monastic discipline, surely these friars were fully equipped for their apostolic labors. As soon as they had reached the district assigned to them, the friars sought out a location best adapted to their purpose, and requested the chiefs or caciques to send their children for instruction. As a rule, a large building was constructed next to the convent, including school, chapels, dormitory, and refectory to accomodate from six hundred to one thousand children.

At first the chiefs displayed interest and enthusiasm, but when it was time to send their children, many held back, perhaps from fear of their gods, and sent instead the children of their vassals. But the hoax turned out against them, because these children of low origin profited by education and superseded the sons of the chiefs. In many instances they became governors or *alcaldes*. Torquemada is inclined to think that this deception on the part of the caciques was permitted by Providence to break up their tyrannical government.⁴² The boys were attended by aged Indians

⁴² Torquemada, III, 29.

whose duty it was to distribute the food and clothing provided by the parents, the missionaries themselves being always present to supervise.

Here in the presence of the children the friars recited the divine office before images of the Savior and His Blessed Mother placed at the farther end of the school room; here, too, they said their prayers in varied posture, standing, kneeling, at times with their arms extended in the form of a cross to impress upon the receptive minds of their pupils by deed rather than by word the manner by which they were to seek God through devout prayer and reverence.

Religious Instruction Of course, the friars' first concern was to teach the Indian children what every Christian child must know, namely, how to make the sign of the cross, and to recite the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed. These prayers were taught in Latin because the missionaries had as yet no knowledge of the Aztec language, nor were interpreters available to translate these prayers into their tongue. As best they could they attempted through signs to convey to their pupils that there is but one God, and not many gods as their parents believed; that idols are false gods and deceive men; that heaven is God's dwelling-place whither they will go and be happy with Him if they love and obey Him; that there is a hell, where those who disobey God will have to suffer endless pain. By means of the crucifix they taught the story of the Redemption and through the pictures of Our Lady they brought to their minds that she was the Saviour's own Mother, whom they were to love and revere as such and supplicate as their patroness and protectress.

To religious instruction were added reading, writing, and the other branches. From Fr. Motolinia we learn of the docility of these pupils, how apt, quick of apprehension and studious they were. Within a short space of time, with but very meagre training, they were able to copy elaborate manuscripts with such exactness that it was difficult to distinguish the original. When some specimens of such were exhibited in Spain, they elicited great admiration.

Reading, Writing, Music They were much attracted to singing. Their instructor was an old, jovial friar who used studied phraseology which amused the auditors. His harangue was not understood, yet signs, sound, and example supplied the deficiency and before long a well-trained choir was organized from which were drawn many who in their

turn trained their countrymen in other towns. In later years a Tlascaltec became the composer of a Mass that received high praise.

In instrumental music these Indian lads showed like proficiency. In the beginning the instructors were salaried Spanish professionals, but they were soon eliminated owing to the rapid progress of the young Mexicans. Before long a group of flute players supplanted the organ, thus rendering church services a bit more impressive. Wooden wind instruments, such as the clarinet were also in use, as well as string instruments. Motolinia tells of a youth, native Tehuacan, who organized a band which within a month supplied music for the Mass. Another youth, native of Tlascala, constructed a three-stringed instrument in imitation of a rabel, the property of a Spaniard; after the master could teach him no more, and in less than two weeks he joined the flute players at the Church, accompanying them in admirable harmony.⁴³

As artisans, too, the Indian youths demonstrated talent and skill. They watched the various artisans as they built the convents and schools, and from them they learned the trades of carpentry, bricklaying, and masonry. So alert were they in observation and so skilled in execution that after but a short period of training, the friars could commit to their hands intricate and complicated sections of structure, e. g., the formation of arches, construction of hewn-stone foundations, and the adornment of facades. Even within this early period churches rose in the native towns solely through the skill of these Indian artisans and without any direction or supervision from the Spaniards. Spanish artisans were jealous of their skill, and in some instances were avaricious in the prices they demanded for their wares. They failed to reckon with the imitative skill of these young Aztecs. These would secretly watch the artisans at their work and acquiring specimens, would exhibit imitations perhaps better than the foreign models. An acquisitive weaver had to the detriment of the friars monopolized the business of cloth manufacture. His prices were so prohibitive that even the friars went about in garments so tattered as to arouse the pity and the ire of the natives. This particular weaver was spied upon, and soon a loom was constructed and the friars henceforth were supplied not only with cloth, but with ready-made habits.

⁴³ Motolinia, *Hist. Ind.*, 211.

Among the finer arts taught was that of embroidery.⁴⁴ Elaborate specimens in this art were produced by the natives, and thus the Church altars were generously supplied with exquisite adornments. The young apprentices learned to carve and adorn statues. They were expert in painting and mosaic work in feathers, applied principally to sacred art. In this last, the natives had already acquired a high degree of perfection before the arrival of the Spaniards, but even in their painting they soon outdid the mediocre talent of European amateurs then in Mexico.

This "training of boys extended even to daily duties and conduct, for while a large proportion attended school during the day only, quite a number remained night and day under the care of the good Fathers, many of them supported wholly by alms which flowed in for the convent."⁴⁵

While occupied in teaching the Aztec youth, the friars themselves felt the necessity of becoming disciples. They could not speak the native tongue, the knowledge of which was so essential to carry out on a larger scale the mission they had undertaken. The interpreter Águilar of whom mention has been made probably gave them lessons and helped them in this regard, as did the Three Flemings who had preceded them by some months. But the easiest and perhaps the best way to acquire both fluency and correct pronunciation was to intermingle with the children. So putting aside their dignity they entered into their games, thus relieving them of any embarrassment, and whilst exchanging straws or pebbles with the little ones, they would with pen mark the words which these prattled. The older children soon grasped the purpose of it and acted as teachers. At night the friars compared notes. By this method of assistance from the more intelligent pupils, it was not long before Frs. Fuensalida and Jimenez had so far progressed as to be able to preach to the adult population.

However, their greatest help in the matter of learning the native tongue came from a Spanish widow, mother of two small sons, who in their contact with the native children had learned to speak their language well. Upon the request of the friars, this pious lady delivered to them her little son named Alonsito. Like

⁴⁴ An Italian lay-brother was instructor. *Ibid.*, III, 212.

⁴⁵ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 173.

another Samuel, offered to the service of God's temple, from his childhood on he remained there in the service of his ministers, never even once returning to the parental roof. He made his abode with the friars, ate with them, and read at meals, following in all things their routine of life. Alonsito was the first to serve as official interpreter for the "Twelve Apostles," helping them to instruct his fellow countrymen in the mysteries of faith. He was also the teacher of these preachers of Christ's Gospel because he taught them the language of the country, accompanying them into every district. When his age permitted he took the habit and labored with all the zeal of an apostle for fifty years. He is known in history as Fr. Alonso de Molina.⁴⁶

With Molina's aid and with their own advanced knowledge of the language, the Twelve now undertook the instruction of the masses. Whilst constructing their convents and schools they had also made provision by means of extensive *patios* for the instruction of the adult population. To this end, therefore, with the coöperation of the caciques, they summoned to these spacious *patios* the populations dwelling within the environments of their districts.

In one-half year the Twelve had progressed to a working knowledge of the language, understanding it and making themselves understood. Fr. Luis de Fuensalida and Fr. Francisco Jimenez, seemingly the more proficient linguists of the group, translated with the aid of natives the principal points of doctrine into the form of a hymn.⁴⁷ The hymn was sung by the children to the assembled multitudes in the patio, who in turn repeated it, and thereafter whithersoever they went this hymn embodying prayers, articles of faith, and the commandments of God, could be heard day and night.

Aside from teaching the multitudes the doctrinal hymn, the Twelve preached to them. Still lacking a perfect knowledge of the language, they addressed the assemblies through interpreters, who standing beside the preachers would deliver their message. The missionaries, though hesitant about delivering their sermons

⁴⁶ Molina is the author of "Aqui comienza un vocabulario en lengua Castellana y Mexicana." "This work may still be regarded as the standard in its field, and has proved of great service in my studies of Aztec history." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 173.

⁴⁷ Vetancurt, *Chron.*, 3, credits Gante and Tecto with the composition; Mendieta points to the above named. *Op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. XIX, 224-225.

personally, nevertheless understood every word that fell from the interpreters' lips and were thus enabled to detect any fault in delivery. They found none. On the contrary, these interpreters, well-grounded in the doctrine they were expounding for the missionaries, would frequently expatiate on the matter submitted: disproving errors by clear reasoning, denouncing the rites and idolatry of their own parents, and declaring in eloquent language faith in the one true God. Some of them had so retentive a memory that after hearing a sermon or a story but once or twice they could repeat it with exactness and grace.

It must be remembered that most of these interpreters were mere children, disciples of the Twelve. Their participation in the evangelization of New Spain was therefore truly apostolic because their influence was felt not only in the provinces where convents were established, but their voice, like that of the Apostles, reached the very confines of New Spain. Thus it may be truly said that Christ's Gospel was spread throughout New Spain "out of the mouths of babes."

Next to preaching, came the administration of the sacraments, which fructify the word received. In the administration of baptism the first missionaries proceeded as follows: they first conferred the saving water upon the children whom
Pentecostal after due instruction they had gathered into their
Baptism, schools, those before others in whom they detected
Method of the requisite aptitude. Those brought to them from
the Twelve without they baptized because of the risk of mortality, on condition that when they reached the age of discretion they be allowed to continue as Christians. This was agreed because when the missionaries began baptizing, the Gospel-teaching had already been universally spread throughout the provinces and was acknowledged by all the chiefs and their vassals, who furthermore were readily convinced of the error of idolatry. Lapses of natives into idolatry were due not to any disbelief of the new teaching, but rather to ignorance and weakness; it is so hard on human nature to give up suddenly and completely what for centuries and generations had been handed down.

The adults who came to them for baptism were treated as were the children of the schools. They were first instructed in Christian doctrine, and not until well-grounded therein were they baptized. But few such were baptized in the beginning (1524). In the case

of the sick, there was no such rigor; a demonstration of belief and devotion together with contrition for sin sufficed.

There are those who have accused the "Twelve Apostles" of having baptized by sprinkling when multitudes gathered for the sacrament.⁴⁸ This is untrue, for we have it on the word of one of the Twelve, therefore a contemporary witness and a man holy and truthful, that no friar ever used this method of baptism.⁴⁹

During the first two years, the friars rarely left the convents established in the districts already mentioned, because they wanted first to master the language, and they were too busy, but they had foreseen the wisdom of establishing from the very outset schools wherein to gather and instruct the youth of the land. We have already seen how from every section of the land the children of the chiefs and princes came to the schools and how after thorough instruction in the faith, returned to their home, instructed their parents and servants and persuaded them to betake themselves to the convent-patios, to be instructed. And thus was accomplished a preparatory disposition for entrance into the Church. This method resulted in three important factors leading to the final conversion of all the peoples: First, it brought about the cessation of idolatrous worship; secondly, it led to assemblies among the friars' disciples; third, it brought the missionaries themselves into the remote parts of the land to Christianize the people.

The travels of the missionaries throughout the length and breadth of Mexico, instructing and baptizing the natives, constitute one of the most heroic, adventurous, and romantic pages in Church history.⁵⁰

Wherever the missionaries went, natives ran out to meet them, and within a short time they were surrounded by thousands craving instruction and baptism. It was a re-enactment of the scene along the shores of the Jordan when the multitude came to hear the word of John the Baptist and to be baptized; thousands upon thousands, men, women, and children in equal numbers, the blind, the maimed, the halt, the sick carried on stretchers, crying out in one heart-rending plea, "Baptize us!" Surely this spectacle must

**Begging for
Baptism**

to hear the word of John the Baptist and to be baptized; thousands upon thousands, men, women, and children in equal numbers, the blind, the

⁴⁸ Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III, Cap. XXXII, 257: "... que frailes habian baptizado con hisopo."

⁴⁹ "... Uno de los doce, varón santo y digno de todo crédito, como buen testigo de aquel tiempo, afirma que nunca fraile de su orden hizo tal cosa." Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Cap. XXXII, 257.

⁵⁰ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, c. XXXIII, 258-264.

have brought to the minds of the missionaries the words they had so often recited: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." (Ps. 2, 8.)

The missionaries in their travels found in many places that the Indians in their pagan state had a rite resembling baptism. They immersed their eight to ten day old infants in springs or rivers, and upon lifting them from the water would place in the hand of a male a round shield, signifying thereby the valor he was later to exhibit in warfare against an enemy. In the infant female's hand would be placed a tiny broom, indicating her domestic vocation. Interpreted in a spiritual sense the symbolism in this rite might be aptly applied to the Christian baptism; the recipient of baptism must ever combat spiritual enemies and sweep the soul of every uncleanness rendering it a fit abode for God's indwelling.

With the natives coming in such numbers, all the formalities in the administration of baptism could not be observed. The "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico had followed a uniform method in

this regard, but in later years when members of other religious Orders and diocesan priests came, a controversy ensued. Some maintained that in the administration of the sacrament the full ritual should be observed,—that the Indians ought to be

baptized with solemn rite, all the ceremonies being observed as in Spain and other parts of Christendom, and not solely with blessed water and the sacramental words, as was the custom among the "Twelve Apostles"; these opponents went even to the extent of accusing these first missionaries of sin. Others went farther and maintained that the baptism of adults should be reserved for the vigils of Easter and Pentecost in accordance with the custom that held in the primitive Church.

It is noteworthy of remark that those who so scrupulously advocated this procedure were disinterested in the conversion of the natives, making no effort to learn their language, and even going so far as to declare their unwillingness to employ so many years of study in the interest of so stupid and barbarous a people.⁵¹

This controversy naturally disturbed the friars who had first

⁵¹ " . . . con gente tan bestial y torpe como los indios," Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. XXXVI, 268.

come to New Spain, and with the sweat of their brow had labored in this vast vineyard of the Lord. They had come in the humility of "*poverellos*" unpretentious of learning, yet all of them had been thoroughly trained in canon law and in theology. In the obedience tendered the "Twelve Apostles," their Minister General, Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, had addressed them as "learned preachers," a title they all fully merited. We have noted that among them was Fr. Juan de Tecto, who had taught theology at Paris for Fourteen years. Surely, these Twelve, as learned as they were zealous, had not undertaken their program of conversion without having first entered into serious deliberation.

In the baptism of such vast numbers that came to them in the beginning of their apostolate—numbers exceeding any in the history of the Church—it was physically impossible to observe all the ceremonies, the ministers being so few. So vast at times was the number baptized that the priests were barely able to raise the arm for pouring the water; even with alternating, their arms became paralyzed, a single priest baptizing in one day from four to six thousand infants and adults. How, exclaimed the first apostles, could a priest occupied in one day with saying Mass, reciting the divine office, preaching, marrying, administering to the sick, catechizing, studying the language, preparing sermons, teaching in the school, rectifying marriages, disentangling discords, defending culprits—how, they retorted, could he baptize three or four thousand a day observing the full ritual? Whence could come the amount of saliva for so many, supposing even the ministers to be taking water at every step? Where would one find churches large enough to accommodate the multitudes, there being but few small edifices at the time? They were constrained to baptize in the fields and patios and public squares, at times without candle, owing to the wind.

The whole matter came to such a pass that a council was held consisting of the bishops, then in Mexico, religious prelates, members of the royal audiencia, and jurists of the City of Mexico.⁵²

Here the matter was ventilated, Fr. Tecto undoubtedly speaking for his fellow-friars and justifying their conduct on the ground of necessity, because of the mass gatherings. He cited the judg-

⁵² "The importance of the meeting, both in respect to the number and quality of attendance, and to discussions has caused it (the above Council) to be signified as the first Synod of the Church in New Spain," Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 177.

ment of able canonists and precedent furnished by many of the early fathers even when no such urgent need existed.⁵³

The Council came to no definite decision in this matter, so it sent the opinions there expressed to the authorities in Spain, declaring the manner of baptizing heretofore in use. To this they received answer from both the Royal Council and the Council of the Indies that they continue as they had begun until a decision from the Holy See.

This decision regarding baptism, as well as other points touching on matrimony, fasts, and feasts of obligation came in a Bull of Paul III, May 15, 1537.

This Bull exonerated the first apostles of any culpability in the administration of the sacrament of baptism, on the ground that they had judged the omission of ceremonies justified by the circumstances existing at the time. However, that the natives might appreciate the dignity of this sacrament and not confound it with their own pagan purifications, it was ordered that henceforth the ministers except in cases of urgent necessity, carry out the ceremonies demanded by the ritual, namely, that only baptismal water be used; the questions and exorcism be pronounced over each candidate; that two or three receive the salt and candle; and that holy oil and chrism be applied to each.

At the beginning of the year following the receipt of this Bull (1538), the four bishops then residing in New Spain met and determined the following: asking the questions of renunciation was left to the discretion of the minister; the exorcism was abbreviated; the application of the holy oil and chrism to each candidate was made obligatory. Furthermore, they interpreted "urgent necessity" as meaning sickness, going to sea or to war, etc.

To some, this interpretation of urgent necessity seemed incorrect, arguing that such is usually judged as between simple necessity and extreme, and they therefore asked that the presence of a multitude of converts with but few over-taxed priests to minister to them constitute an urgent necessity justifying in the case of baptism the method heretofore in use. This request seemed reasonable to them and in full accord with the Pope's declaration that left it to the minister's conscience to judge as to what constitutes

⁵³ The assembled members must have had their attention called to the fact that recently this method of baptizing was practised by so eminent a personage as Cardinal Ximenes in his mission to the Moors.

an urgent necessity in the matter of baptism.⁵⁴ But the bishops, opposed as they were from the beginning to the omission of the ceremonies, could not be convinced and so they denied the request.

Fr. Toribio Motolinia was an exact observer and in his writings he has left many details that otherwise would have been lost to history. Among other things he calculated the number of natives

that were baptized by himself and companions up to the year 1536. He has given the number as close to five million. Again in the year 1540, his statistics bring the number beyond six million. Fr. Pedro Gante in his letters states that he and his

companions baptized eight thousand, sometimes from ten to fourteen thousand persons in one day. Summarizing, he and his fellow friars had baptized within five years "une telle multitude, que je n'ai pas pu les compter."⁵⁵ Torquemada's numbers are equally large, making mention of one friar baptizing in Toluca three thousand six hundred in one day.⁵⁶ Vetancurt tells us: "The day before St. John, forty thousand were baptized at the Chapel of St. Joseph, Mexico."⁵⁷ Mendieta mentions two priests who baptized in Suchimilco fifteen thousand, the one relieving the other. It was no rare occurrence for the friars to visit during their ministry of baptism three or four towns in one day.

From what has been said one must regret the slur cast upon this "Baptism of the Multitude" by Bancroft who represents the labors of the missionaries as a "mania."⁵⁸

We have also seen how thoroughly the missionaries instructed the adult population before admitting them to baptism. How unjust, therefore, is Bancroft's further reflection: "It was deemed requisite for the prospective neophyte merely to listen for a few days to the sermons and exhortations of the teachers, sorely distorted as they were by perplexed interpreters, and to imitate the devotional ceremonies in order to become worthy of admission into the Church."⁵⁹

Whilst treating about the friars' apostolic labors in regard to

⁵⁴ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, III, Cap. XXXIX, 274.

⁵⁵ Lettre, 27 Juin, 1529, in Ternaux, Compans, *Voyages*, Serie I, tom. II, 197.

⁵⁶ III, 156.

⁵⁷ *Chron.*, X, 5, 10.

⁵⁸ "It was hoped the sacred influence of baptism might aid in fructifying the words of faith, and to this end quite a *mania* was developed among the worthy apostles to bestow the rite." Bancroft, *Hist. Mex.*, II, 174.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 174-5.

baptism, we might go on considering one by one the remaining sacraments, and point out the many difficulties that confronted them in their administration. But the limitations

Destruction of Idols of this paper will not permit, so we shall pass over to the relation of an activity of quite another nature, but which had a most direct bearing on the conversion of these peoples, striking as it did at the very foundation of their paganism. I refer to the destruction of their idols.

Cortés with Fray Olmedo had already set the example for this wholesale iconoclasm during the Conquest. In his religious zeal he had caused the hideous idols of Cozumel to be hurled from the summit of the *Teocalli*, a bold and daring stroke. For the inhabitants of Cozumel, being told to discard their idols "exclaimed that these were the gods who sent them the sunshine and the storm and should any violence be offered they would be sure to avenge it by sending their lightnings on the heads of the perpetrators."⁶⁰ Cortés on this occasion put aside polemics and instead of argument he used action. To disprove their conviction, he set upon the idols and cast them down the stairs of the temple. Groans and lamentations of the astonished worshippers rent the air. But in the meanwhile an altar was erected, a statue of the Virgin with Child placed thereon, and Fr. Olmedo said Mass for the first time in a temple of Mexico. Another appeal was made to the natives to embrace Christianity, and whether struck with fear at the boldness of the invaders or seeing how powerless their own gods were, they consented to adore the God of the Christians.

It has been pointed out that to extend the work of conversion, the friars realized they were too few for the task, so after long and laborious training they pressed into service their older pupils. These, like the seventy-two disciples of Christ, accompanied the friars on all their tours acting as interpreters, instructors, and preachers to establish *doctrinas*, Indian towns and villages newly converted to Christianity. Afterwards they went forth alone to impart the lessons learned and to wage war against idolatry. Even children engaged in this warfare destroying thousands of idols and some of them meeting martyrdom in the act. Fr. Sahagun tells of the rapid work of demolition of the Aztec *Teocallis*, temples stained with the blood of human victims: "We took the children of the caciques into our schools, where we taught them to read,

⁶⁰ Prescott, *Conq. Mex.*, I, 271.

write, and to chant. The children of the poorer natives were brought together in the courtyard and there instructed in the Christian faith. After our teaching, one or two brethren took the pupils to some neighboring *Teocalli* and by working at it for a few days, they leveled it to the ground. In this way they demolished, in a short time, all the Aztec temples, great and small, so that no vestige of them remained.”⁶¹ Many such raids led by the friars were made, “the Franciscans alone claiming to have destroyed more than five hundred temples and twenty thousand images in seven years,” says Bancroft.⁶²

Mendieta tells in detail how the convent pupils stoned to death a priest of the idols who brazenly paraded before them as a living representation of an idol.⁶³

Again he narrates how at Tlascala Cristóbal, a mere schoolboy was murdered by his father because, eager to convert his family, he had destroyed the domestic idols and the wine butts, his father

A Ghastly being a drunkard. Enraged at the young iconoclast’s
Deed act, the father dealt upon him mortal blows and finally threw him into a furnace, from which he was later

extricated by servants. In this agonizing condition he called his father and pleaded with him to give up his idolatrous religion and habitual intemperance, and with this last admonition on his lips he gave up his soul. Fear now took possession of the cruel father, and he secretly buried the corpse in a corner of the house, and took other precautions to hide the murder. But the friars, making inquiries, found it out and Axotecatl was executed.⁶⁴

Two years after the death of Cristóbal, two other youths of Tlascala were put to death by idolators while they were assisting Fr. Bernardino Minaya and his companions. These two youths had been entrusted to these Dominican Fathers at their request by Fr. Martín de Valencia to assist them in their own work of conversion. The names of the boys were Antonio and Juan, servant of Antonio. “Thus,” says Bancroft, “the little republic attained during the first decade the glory of presenting three widely applauded martyrs.”⁶⁵

And thus through preaching, baptizing, and the destruction of

⁶¹ Prescott, *op. cit.*, III, 266-67, Note.

⁶² *Hist. Mex.*, II, 179.

⁶³ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. XXIV, 234.

⁶⁴ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. XXV, 236-39.

⁶⁵ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 180.

idols did the "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico plant the cross of Christ in the midst of a heathen nation and thereby bring them from the "region of the shadows of death" into the bright land of Christian civilization.⁶⁶

V

MEANS OF CONVERSION—REASONS FOR RAPID SUCCESS

How, we may ask, was this so wondrous and extensive conversion brought about, a conversion so complete that "in a few years every vestige of the primitive *Teocallis* was effaced from the land?"⁶⁷

"Fear and Force" "Foremost stood fear and policy," says Bancroft, "for it was dangerous to disobey the Conquerors."⁶⁸

This is an assertion unfounded in fact. The Conquerors of Mexico did not force conversion on the natives. No one will deny that Cortés and his soldiers in their ardor and zeal to propagate Christianity, here and there may have overstepped the bounds of discretion, but truth to tell, ever were the missionaries putting a check to their excessive ardor, opposed as they were to *forced conversion*. These occasional excessive outbursts of the Conquerors were the result of their determination to abolish the abominable rites of idol-worship, rather than to compel the natives into Christianity. I defy any historian to cite in a written record a single instance of forced conversion approved by the missionaries of Mexico. On the authority of Bancroft himself it can be established that these were always inculcating mildness, and followed a policy of persevering painstaking instruction.

Bancroft adduces as a further reason for the rapid conversion the fact that "the new rites and doctrines had many similarities

⁶⁶ By the end of the Sixteenth Century (1596), some twenty years over a half-century from the time of the arrival of the "Twelve Apostles," the Franciscans had established five Provinces: La Provincia del Santo Evangelio, Mexico, not counting the two Custodias Zacatecas, and Tampico, with ninety convents; La Provincia de los Apostoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo (Michoacan) including Galicia and frontiers with fifty-four convents; La Provincia del Nombre de Jesús (Guatemala) with twenty-two convents; La Provincia de S. Jose de Yucatan with twenty-two convents; La Provincia de S. Jorge (Nicaragua) with twelve convents. In all there existed then in New Spain two hundred Franciscan monasteries. Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. XLIII, 545.

⁶⁷ Prescott, *op. cit.*, III, 266-67.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, 181.

to their own to commend them to the natives." He then specifies a "baptism . . . used for infants generally," and Similarity states that "a purifying water was applied also by of Worship ascetics"; furthermore "communion was taken in different forms as wafer or bread, and as pieces from the consecrated dough-statue of the chief god, the latter form being termed *teoqualo*, 'god is eaten'"; then, there was a sort of confession: "Confession was heard by regular confessors who extended absolution in the name of the deity concerned," etc.⁶⁹

This is true. The missionaries did discover among the Aztecs religious tenets and observances similar to those of Catholicism. And this fact seems to compel the belief held by the missionaries themselves that the ancestors of the Aztecs had been originally instructed in Christianity; there is a tradition that one of Christ's Apostles, St. Thomas, evangelized Mexico. Surely the striking coincidences warranted their conclusion.

But these were *quasi*-Christian rites, abominable, superstitious, and reeking with human gore. The Aztecs held fast to their religious abominations. This is seen in their stubborn resistance to the proposals of the Spaniards that they change their religion. Rather would they be buried under the ruins of their besieged capital than surrender their independence and their religion. In their last desperate conflict, their enthusiasm was kindled to a mad fanaticism when they heard the beats of the signal-drum emanating from the temple of their war-god.

Nevertheless, Bancroft would have us believe that the "similarities" between the pagan rites of the Aztecs and the Christian rites of the Conquerors was a potent factor for the success of the missionaries in their work of conversion, "wonderful in extent, though shallow at first."⁷⁰

How unfair therefore to the memory of those saintly missionaries and their converts is Bancroft's further remark: "Although these similarities appeared to the friars partly as a profanation and were pointed out as a perversion of the evil one, nevertheless they failed not to permit a certain association or mingling of pagan and Christian ideas in this connection with a view to promote the acceptance of the latter. The Indians on the other side availed themselves so freely of this privilege as frequently to rouse

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 182.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 181.

the observation that they had merely changed the name of their rites and idols." ⁷¹

Prescott, like Bancroft, adduces a similar theory explaining the conversion of the Aztecs. He says: "The Aztec worship was remarkable for its burdensome ceremonial and prepared its votaries for the pomp and splendors of the Romish (!) ritual. It was not difficult to pass from the fasts and festivals of the one religion to the fasts and festivals of the other; to transfer their homage for the fantastic idols of their own creation to the beautiful forms in sculpture and in painting which decorated the Christian cathedral." ⁷²

Aside from what has already been said with regard to the Aztec's religious tenacity, was it so easy for them to give up a worship time-honored through association with the great deeds of their national heroes, deeds that constituted the glory of their empire? Their religious rites were essentially bound up with their national and civil laws, customs, and traditions—Was it easy for them, without opposition, to trample upon these rites? Furthermore, these rites were embodied in their programs of war as well as in their pageants and feasts in time of peace. Their religious ceremonials and their rites formed the very pageantry of their national life. Was it easy for them to exchange all this for "the pomp and splendor of the Romish (!) ritual?" Theirs was a religion flattering the passions. Was it easy for them to submit to a religion imposing un-heard-of restraints—to discard a religion reeking with carnality and horrid abomination, and accept what Mr. Prescott styles "the unsullied" rites of Catholic Christianity? ⁷³

We have heard such theories as these of Bancroft and Prescott expounded before. Gibbon uses like sophistry in explaining the spread of Christianity among the Greeks and Romans. Like him these historians draw strongly on their fancies, discarding the miraculous and things supernatural; like him they must find solely natural causes to explain phenomena.

It was not coincidence—similarity of rites—not mere human enterprise and means that brought about the astonishingly rapid, extensive, and complete conversion of the natives of New Spain. There was something more—the finger of God was there, as it

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 182.

⁷² *Conquest of Mexico*, III, 267-268.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

was in the conversion of all heathen nations. The phenomenon is inexplicable on any other principle. Without the favor of God and his blessing, no matter how intense the zeal or unblemished the life of the missionaries, however they may have aided, the work could not have been accomplished: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it."

Another factor that entered into the missionaries' program of conversion was what Bancroft calls "the ceremonial pomp, the gorgeous display in connection with services, so fascinating to cultured Europeans, how much more therefore to the
Pomp and ruder Mexicans." ⁷⁴

Ceremony Surely this was a most effective means, based as it is on psychology. Bancroft himself admits its legitimacy. Says he: "Who can question the legitimacy of such aids in so good a cause, as the substitution of a gentle, elevating religion for a bloody, debasing ritual." And just because of this "ceremonial pomp and gorgeous display" is he bound to admit "the rapid progress among the northern Indians of Catholic missionaries and their stronger hold upon them, as compared with Protestant ministers." ⁷⁵

"The priests took pains to make attractive the place of worship: the altar with lace, and gold, and flowers, all resplendent with lights; pictures and statues with colors and attitude appealing to the tenderest feelings; solemn chants and gorgeous processions, while around in the recesses an awe-inspiring half-gloom impelled the thoughts and feelings of the worshippers yearningly toward the enchanted scene before them. The numerous feast days gave the friars frequent opportunity to indulge the natives with alluring pageantry, varying in its nature the significance of the festival. Christmas came with appropriate and brilliant tableaux; Epiphany had its representative magi following an imagined star to render homage. Palm Sunday revelled in flowers, and Eastertide followed with impressive scenes and services. There were processions brilliant with gala dresses, flowers, plumes, and banners, with here and there crosses and saints' images borne by chiefs and chosen ones, and attended by large escorts of candle-bearers." ⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 182-183.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 183. The Corpus Christi processions were outstanding events and descriptions of these may be found in Motolinia *Hist. Ind.*, 73-81; Torquemada III, 230-1.

Herein is an example of the "pomp and splendors of the Romish (!) ritual" of which Prescott writes. Surely the use of such cannot be made a subject of incrimination against the missionaries of New Spain to win the admiration and captivate the senses of the Aztecs. Surely the charm that is hers, the Church may use to move the heart; hers is a more winning grace than the "cold abstraction" of Protestantism. Surely the friars—wise with the wisdom of their Church—were but using a method which, according to the Protestant Church historian Mosheim, was used by the earliest Christian missionaries.⁷⁷

In all this there was never a sacrifice of principle. Nor can the friars of Mexico be accused of any fault when in the beginning of their apostolate they tolerated, and wisely so, such national customs as did not war against any principle of faith, and thus to have gradually introduced the natives into a new and refined civilization.⁷⁸

How improbable therefore is Prescott's insinuation that the apostles of Mexico, men as he represents them, "of unblemished purity of life," in their program of conversion merely substituted one form of idolatry for another.

We come now to the consideration of the most potent factor among the causes for the success of conversion, namely, the noble, heroic, holy character of the missionary pioneers who so closely followed upon the expedition of the Conquest.

Character of the Missionaries We ask no better witness to prove this than the otherwise deeply prejudiced Bancroft. He attributes that success to "the saintly character of the friars; their benign appearance; their kindness of heart; their benevolent acts; their exemplary life; all so worthy of admiration, and in so striking contrast to the fiercer aspect and bloody doings of the native priests, in harmony truly with their horrid idols and rights, as the appearance and acts of the friars accorded with the gentle Virgin image and the pious teachings of their faith. The records of the Chroniclers are filled with glowing testimony to the self-sacrificing conduct, in private and public life, of these missionaries."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Historia Ecclesiast, Saecul. II*, 2, c. IV, Note.

⁷⁸ "Many pagan ceremonies were introduced, endeared to the congregations by long associations, and frolics and dances lent a cheerful afterglow to the solemnity, and gilded the remembrance of the feast." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 184.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 184.

VI

CONCLUSION

The discovery and the Conquest of the New World was coincident in point of time with the Protestant Reformation, that brought on untold spiritual havoc, and a defection from the Church in the Old World almost threatening, humanly speaking, her very existence. But the Church, ever old and ever young, rose up in her divine strength and extended her spiritual empire throughout the New Worlds discovered and conquered by her own children.

It is worthy of note that Cortés, the Conqueror of New Spain, was born at Medellín, a village of Spain, the same year that Luther was born at Eisleben, a village of Saxony. The one was born to deplete the ranks of Catholics in the Old World, the other to bring the light of the Catholic faith to countless numbers in the New World.

There is no more glorious page in the annals of colonial history than the Conquest of Mexico by those intrepid Spaniards, who under the impulses of adventure, patriotism, and religion went forth to discover new worlds and to subjugate unknown peoples to God and King. And in this colossal enterprise the Franciscans, represented by the "TWELVE APOSTLES OF MEXICO," played the sublime rôle.

"Al rey infinitas tierras
Y a Dios infinitas almas"—

"To the King boundless territory,
And to God countless souls."

—Lope de Vega: X.

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DISCUSSION

FR. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.:—New Spain or Mexico was the favorite child of Spain all through the colonial period. Once the riches of Spain were discovered, the islands of the Caribbean became mere stepping-stones to the continent. To protect Mexico's wealth, Spain undertook the conquest of Florida, Texas and California; these colonies in turn became mere buffer states to hold in check, foreign nations. Just as Mexico became Spain's most cherished possession because of its material wealth, so, too, it became the scene of great spiritual development. From gold and silver that poured into Spanish coffers from Mexico, Spain in turn built churches, cathedrals, convents, hospitals, asylums, a university and a great number of schools. Thousands of religious were provided for by the Spanish government for the Christianization of the natives. It is gratifying to realize that much of the spiritual work in the first century in Mexico was accomplished by the Franciscans.

Father Joseph in his well documented paper has detailed for you how the first friars came to Mexico and how under the guiding hand of Fray Martin de Valencia, the mother province of Franciscanism in North America, was nurtured and developed. In singing the praises of our own brethren, however, we should not forget that we had as co-laborers during the early period, the Dominicans and Augustinians, and later, the Jesuits. The "Twelve Apostles" came to Mexico in 1524, twelve Dominicans followed in 1526 while the Augustinians arrived in 1533. Already in 1559 the Franciscans had 80 residences and 380 religious in Mexico; the Dominicans, 40 residences and 210 religious; the Augustinians, 40 residences and 212 religious. The province of the Holy Gospel in time grew to be one of the most flourishing of the Order when it counted nearly a thousand friars. The Franciscans were the greatest in number and succeeded in being the most popular, undoubtedly because of their close connections with the masses. Mexico was preeminently a Franciscan land.

The great fault of omission of our American friars has been that they have failed up to the present to make a searching study of what may be appropriately called the Franciscan conquest and settlement of Mexico. Franciscan

Our Fault of Omission

history in Mexico is calling for a genius who with persistent research and with facile pen will recount to the world through the medium of English, that heroic, colorful and self-sacrificing apostolate of our spiritual forbears in Mexico. And why should that genius be other than a Franciscan?

Father Joseph's paper is a sign-post showing us the way to proceed in this matter. Together with another well-documented monograph written by Doctor Steck, O.F.M., of the Catholic University, entitled: *The First Half-Century of Spanish Dominion in Mexico*, it should enlist our interest in this glorious period of three hundred years of Franciscanism in one of the world's greatest missionary fields.

I believe all of you are acquainted with the fact that during a quarter of a century or so, a "debunking process" of no mean magnitude has been going on in these United States relative to Hispanic-American history. Often non-

Correcting a False View

Catholic historians are leaders in this process. The old idea that the Spanish conquest was one of loot and bloodshed only, has been discarded by all historians who know their documents. Catholic and non-Catholic alike hold that the religious element in the conquest was very strong, if not dominant; that the Spanish kings and many of the Spanish conquistadores genuinely desired the spiritual well-being of the subjugated races; that millions of dollars were spent in behalf of educational, charitable and ecclesiastical institutions. So when Father Joseph states that the conquest of Mexico must be looked upon, in part at least, as a crusade, he is entirely right. Sometimes we hear that the Crusades lasted for two centuries, roundly speaking from 1100 to 1300. But we are apt to forget that Spain continued to be a crusading nation until 1492 when Granada fell, the very year that Columbus discovered America. After that the Crusade continued in the Indies, as the Americas were officially called. Menéndez de Avilés, the conqueror of Florida, might be appropriately called, a bishop in soldier's uniform, so great was his zeal for the spread of the faith.

FR. CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.M.Cap.:—In regard to the Ritual of the Aztecs, I trust my present remarks are not too far removed from the subject just treated. For the past eighty years serious studies have been made on the

Ritual of the Aztecs

question of the Lost Tribes of Israel. I am not here to propose or defend any of the theories, which to some people seem very far-fetched and fantastic, but I should say that the Ritual of the Aztecs is claimed to have a similarity with that of the old Jews. (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, "Israel"). Now if this be true, I wonder if our old friars who first came to Mexico, noticed such a likeness and, if so, what they had to say about it. It strikes us as very marvelous that the Aztecs were converted in such great numbers and in such a relatively short time. If they were descendants of some of the Lost Tribes, perhaps the traditions of their Fathers and the ritual and religion taught them of old was in God's Providence a valuable remnant of the ancient Jewish religion and, thus they were all the more prepared to accept the Messiah and His Religion when it was at last announced to them by the Spanish Padres in the 16th century. Amongst the heap of documents (till now unexplored) which relate to the early missions in Mexico I wonder whether we may not yet find some very interesting material which would elucidate these matters and perhaps give us new trends of thought and lead us to surprising discoveries. It is claimed that as late as about 1660 some Spanish missionaries in Peru found Indians who recited in Hebrew the *Shema*, a Hebrew prayer. Where had these Indians learned it?

FR. MARION HABIG, O.F.M.:—Among the priests with Cortés during the conquest (1519-1521) there were the two Franciscans, Fr. Diego Altamirano, a relative, and Fr. Pedro Melgarejo. They were chaplains of the expedition and had no opportunity to do missionary work among the natives. Both seem to have returned to Spain. At any rate we know that Padre Melgarejo was appointed preacher to His Catholic Majesty and, in 1528, was made Bishop of Dulcigno.

The first missionaries to the Aztecs, as Fr. Joseph, pointed out, were Brother Peter of Ghent and his two priest companions, who arrived in 1523, and the so-called "Twelve Apostles" of Mexico, who arrived the following

Astounding Number of Baptisms

year. The spiritual conquest achieved by these friars is perhaps unique in missionary history. We have no reason to doubt the word of Fr. Martín de Valencia, superior of the Twelve, when he writes in 1531, seven years after their arrival: "It is no exaggeration to say that till now we have baptized more than a million Indians, each one of us more than a hundred thousand." In point of fact, he forestalls the objection that such figures are exaggerated. Besides, his testimony is corroborated by that of Brother Peter of Ghent who wrote two years earlier: "My companions and I have baptized more than two hundred thousand persons in this province of Mexico; the number is so great that I find it impossible to determine it exactly. Sometimes we have baptized as many as fourteen thousand on a single day; at other times, ten thousand or eight thousand."

In view of the tercentenary of Harvard, sometimes erroneously called "the oldest secondary school in America," it is well to call attention to the founding of the College of Santa Cruz at Tlaltelolco, in the northern part of Mexico City, in 1536, just one hundred years before the opening of Harvard College.

Regarding the charge that the early Franciscans in Mexico, in their efforts to propagate Christianity, wantonly destroyed precious monuments of the Aztecs, be it said that the prominent Mexican scholar, Joachim Icazbalceta, has examined it carefully and found it to be utterly untrue. Contrariwise, these missionaries saved as much as they could; and their writings are our best sources for the knowledge of Aztec languages and history.

An Error Refuted

Lastly, I should like to make mention of the large collection of documents pertaining to the Franciscan history of Mexico, principally of biographical interest, which is in the possession of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. Fr. Damian Van den Eynde, O.F.M., of the Athenaeum Antonianum in Rome, has examined these manuscripts with great care, and has spent some summers in calendaring them.

THE FRANCISCANS IN THE SPANISH SOUTHWEST

Fr. BONAVENTURE OBLASSER, O.F.M.

The Spanish Southwest comprised:

- I. The Province of *Nuevo Mejico*, (New Mexico of to-day with some adjacent territories);
- II. The Province of *Tejas*, (Practically our Texas);
- III. The District of *Pimeria Alta*, (Southern Arizona and the Lower Colorado Valley);
- IV. The Province of *California*.

In these territories, barring a period of less than a century, in the *Pimeria Alta*, when Father Kino and his Jesuit confrères labored in those parts, the story of the Catholic faith is the story of the Seraphic Order.

THE PATHFINDERS

The path for the friars was prepared by Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions. These survivors of the Narvaez expedition to Florida were stranded on the shores of Texas.¹ Amidst frightful hardships they wandered for years among the various tribes of that State, until they reached the Jumanos (Comanches) at the mouth of the Conchos River. Thence commenced their trek to the Gulf of California. They journeyed up the Rio Grande for seventeen days, through the land of the Sumas, crossed the stream at El Paso, continued to the southwest along the Indian trail to the maiz country of the Opatas. This trail led them by the water holes, resulting from the disappearance of the Santa Maria and Casa Grande Rivers, through the Janos country, the home of the Tarahumares, across the Carretas Pass in the Sierra Madre, down into the neighborhood of Bavispe.² Thus these men

¹ *La Relacion* of Cabeza de Vaca, published at Zamora, 1542, 1555, 1749 and 1852, and appeared in Italian, French and English.

² *Odyssey* of Cabeza de Vaca, Morris Bishop quoting Davenport in *South-west Hist. Review*, XVIII, 149 ff.

kept well south of the New Mexico and Arizona border. From the Bavispe country they crossed to the other valleys of the Opatas, left the country of these Indians by the Ures Canyon, and followed the inland trail leading south to Culiacan.³ Near this place they met the Spaniards under Melchior Diaz, in the early part of 1536.

In January, 1538, Fray Juan de Olmeda, with a companion, travelled 200 leagues northward along the coast⁴ to what must have been the vicinity of the Yaqui River. The tales, about Indian tribes living still further north, which they

Fray Marcos de Niza reported to the Fr. Provincial, Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, induced the Viceroy Mendoza to send

Fray Marcos de Niza, then Vice-Commissary, on his memorable journey to secure further information.⁵ The negro Estebanico, one of the companions of Cabeza de Vaca, was given to him as a guide. Captain Vazquez Coronado accompanied him as far as Culiacan. Here they separated, Coronado taking a trail leading easterly with the intention of rejoining the friar further north. But beyond Topia, the high Sierras proved inaccessible, hence the Captain was forced to return to Culiacan. Thus in the words of the historian Motolinia, God wished that a "poor, shoeless friar should discover" the new lands⁶ and incidentally become the first European to set foot in Arizona.

Fray Marcos left Culiacan, the last Spanish settlement on the Pacific, on March 7, 1539. At Petatlan, about one hundred miles north, he was delayed three days, owing to the illness of his companion, whom he eventually had to leave there, and owing to the necessity of awaiting the arrival of some Indians, who were to go with him.⁷ From Petatlan he followed the trail, closest to the Gulf, and so passed through Ahome.⁸ Thence he continued thirty leagues over the coastal plain, to the neighborhood of Potam on the Yaqui. He had now reached the high mountains which had

³ Carl Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1932, 16 ff.

⁴ Mota-Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, escrita en 1742. Mexico, 1870, Ch. XXII, 111.

⁵ Instruction of Don Antonio de Mendoza in Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*. Translated by Eleuterio Baca, New Mexican Printing Co., Santa Fe, 1912, 101 ff.

⁶ Fray Toribio de Paredes, Montolinia. *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*; being volume I of the *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, published by Sr. G. Ycazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, Tratado III, 171 ff.

⁷ "Descubrimiento de las siete ciudades por el P. Fr. Marcos de Niza," *Arch. de Indias*, Tomo I, f. 69; Est. I, Caj. I., Leg. 1/20.

⁸ Sauer, *op. cit.*, Map.

stopped the progress of the Guzman expedition a few years previous. Four days' travel through the "wilderness" brought him to the settlements of the Southern Pimas.⁹ These had never seen a Christian, and most reverently gave him the name "Sayota"—The man from beyond. He declined to take the easy trail up the Sonora River, through the Eudeve or Opata towns, since he wished to keep close to the coast.¹⁰ Therefore, he hurried through a sparsely settled region, having as his objective the towering heights of "El Carnero." On March 21, having travelled more than one hundred miles in three days, he reached the well irrigated district, encircling this mountain, which district the Indians call Vavak Aba (Vacapa).¹¹ From this place he sent out reconnoitering parties, one of them to the Seri Indians, living on Tiburon and the neighboring islands, forty leagues away.¹² He dispatched the negro ahead on the road to Cibola, intending to follow him after Easter. Fray Marcos left Vacapa on April 7, going up the Altar Valley as far as Saric, from which place, Estebanico had sent back his first reports on Cibola. He was now on a regular Indian trail leading to Zuni. He followed this trail into the San Pedro Valley, via Suameca, as did Kino and Mange a century and a half later. He then travelled five days through the settlements of the Sobahipuris until he reached their last pueblo on the San Pedro River¹³ called Oohyak (spelled "Ojio" by Mange), located, where the Arivaipa joins the larger stream. This was on April 15. From this point he made a detour to the west going as far as the Yuma country to determine the location of the head of the Gulf. He returned through the Pima settlements, where he spent five days, the Indians urging him to take a rest before crossing the White Mountains. It was a four¹⁴ days' walk from the last Pima village to the foot of the White Mountains.

⁹ Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, Harbor Springs, Mich., 1899, 4.

¹⁰ *Relacion*, Fray Marcos. Citation from the original in Seville.

¹¹ Vavak Aba, often pronounced Vaak Aba, signifies in the Pima language of that district: "At the foot of (aba) the bluffs (vavak or vaak). "Vavak" is the plural of "vak." The Magdalena and Altar Rivers joining here irrigate a succession of very fertile fields extending from the pueblo of Caborca to the west through Pitiquito to Uquitoa and Atil.

¹² A. F. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*. (Vol. V of *Papers of the Archeological Institute of America*, American Series), pp. 125 ff.

¹³ "Rio Nexpa," he calls it. "Xetpa" is Kuchan (Yuman) for "Pima" or "Papago." This would strengthen the theory that he reached the Yuman country in searching for the end of the Gulf.

¹⁴ The *Relacion* reads "cuatro leguas," i. e., four leagues. This seems to be a slip and should be "cuatro jornadas," i. e., four days' journey.

On May 9, he commenced to cross the "wilderness," as he called these mountains.¹⁵ On the twelfth day out, he received the news of Estebanico's capture. But the friar continued on his way until he obtained a glimpse of one of the "cities" of "Kingdom of Cibola. At this place he took solemn possession of St. Francis" of the country in the name of the Emperor and called it: "El Reino de San Francisco" i. e., "The Kingdom of St. Francis." Thence he returned to Culiacan in great haste, traveling as many as eighteen leagues a day.¹⁶ He reached his destination at the end of June, worked on his report, and presented the same to the Viceroy on September 2. *This report should be accepted as true.* It does not contain the inconsistencies that some, even from among his own confrères, find in his writings. He is fully entitled to the honor of being the discoverer of Arizona (Estebanico being a member of the party), *and the first European to set foot on Arizona soil.*

I

THE PROVINCE OF NEW MEXICO

The following year, 1540, Fray Marcos, now Provincial of the Province of the Holy Gospel, accompanied Francisco Vasquez de Coronado as far as Hawikuh, the first of the seven cities of Cibola.

Fray Juan de Padilla and Brother Luis of Escalona¹⁷ **Martyrs of the Faith** remained with the expedition. The former went along with Tovar, on his side trip to Oraibi in the Moqui country, and with Alvarado, on his reconnoitering of the Rio Grande and Pecos valleys. He was the first priest to reach these parts. Both of these missionaries remained in New Mexico, when the disappointed Coronado returned to Old Mexico in 1542. Fray Juan placed Brother Luis in charge of the mission work at Puararray (Bernalillo), which had been inaugurated during the stay of the army at this pueblo. He himself went over to the Texas¹⁸ country which he had visited with Coronado.

¹⁵ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, 155 ff.

¹⁶ The *Relacion* has "eight or ten leagues." But eight or ten leagues would not be an extraordinary day's journey for a seasoned walker like Fray Marcos, nor for any able-bodied man in those days. It seems that the text should be "ocho Y diez," i. e., eighteen, instead of "ocho O diez," i. e., eight or ten.

¹⁷ Otto Maas, O.F.M., "Die ersten Versuche einer Missionierung und Kolonisierung Neumexicos," in *Ibero Amerikanisches Archiv*, Jan., 1933.

¹⁸ Marion Habig, O.F.M., "The Franciscan Martyrs in America," *Ibero Amer., Arch.*, l. c.

There he was killed by the Indians and became the Protomartyr of the United States. Brother Luis, too, lost his life and thus leads the long list of Confessors of the Faith in New Mexico.

Forty years later occurred the second attempt to convert New Mexico. The impetus was given by the aged Brother Augustin Rodriguez. In 1581 he left for the North, with Fr. Francisco

A Second Attempt Lopez and Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, two recently ordained priests. The Viceroy charged Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, with a detail of soldiers to guard the undertaking. To the great disgust of the friars, the soldiers wasted months of valuable time exploring the whole country from Pecos to Zuni. To report this condition, Fr. Juan de Santa Maria left the expedition at Galisteo and made for Mexico alone. This foolhardiness cost him his life. When three days out he had reached the eastern slope of the Sandias, hostile Indians approached him whilst he was asleep and crushed his head with a heavy stone. The other two Franciscans reopened the mission at Puararray. The soldiers, however, deserted them, going back to Mexico on the last day of January, 1582. Before three more months had passed, the two missionaries had joined the army of martyrs.¹⁹

In November, Fr. Bernardin Beltran, accompanied Espejo in order to locate his confrères. Finding them martyred, he went along with the soldiers as far as Zuni. Here he spent the early months of 1583, whilst Espejo wandered around northern Arizona, looking for mines.²⁰

Under the protection of Don Juan de Onate, the Franciscans were enabled to inaugurate the third and permanent attempt at the conversion of New Mexico. On the feast of the Ascension,

1598, at El Paso, the gateway to New Mexico, the Very **A Third Attempt** Reverend Commissary, Alonso Martinez, surrounded by seven Fathers, two Brothers and three Tertiaries, conducted the solemn ceremonies in which Spain took possession of the country in the name of "the King of Kings" and to His honor and glory, and that of His Most Sacred and Blessed Mother, and in honor of the Seraphic Father St. Francis, image of Christ in body and soul, patriarch of the poor."²¹ On September 8 the Father Commissary dedicated the first

¹⁹ Maas, *op. cit.*, 358 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 363 ff. Benjamin Read, *op. cit.*, 177 ff.

²¹ Read, *op. cit.*, 203.

church in the Southwest at the newly founded capital of San Gabriel, *eight years before Jamestown*.²² The following day occurred the *first discretorial meeting* to be held in the United States, when Fr. Martinez assigned his men to their seven districts.

Before the end of the following year, six more missionaries arrived under the new Commissary, Fr. Juan Escalona. Notwithstanding this goodly number of laborers, the work of conversion made no headway, owing to the failure of Governor Onate to coöperate. He wasted his time in unwarranted explorations and neglected to curb the insolence and injustice of the soldiers towards the Indians. The missionaries lost courage and went back to Mexico in October 1601. Only one priest and one brother remained with Fr. Escalona. The Province, however, refused to give up the good work. The new Commissary, Fr. Escobar, succeeded in obtaining better coöperation from Onate. In 1605 he even condescended to accompany the latter on his trip from Zuni, through Arizona, down the Colorado to the Gulf. But the response to the efforts of the Padres was discouraging. The close of 1607 showed but four hundred converts. In January, 1608, Fr. Alonso Ximenez was sent to the capital to negotiate the closing of the missions. The Viceroy urged the Franciscans to hold on a little longer. That very year the list of catechumens rose to seven thousand. Then in 1609 the new Governor, Peralta, arrived, with definite instructions to observe a "hands off" policy with regard to the Indians, to remain at the capital, and to leave all exploring to the Franciscans.²³ The number of whites was kept low, so that in 1617 the new capital, which he had founded at Santa Fe, contained but 47 families. In that year, however, the Padres could show fourteen thousand converts in eleven districts.²⁴

The Superiors followed a vigilant policy of fearless defense of the rights of the missionaries and of their charges, the Indians. Thus when Governor Peralta began to fail in this respect, the Commissary, Fr. Alonso Pinedo, had him removed (1620).²⁵ The same fate would have befallen the notorious Governor Rosas at the hands of the Father Custos had not his crimes provoked his assassination in 1642. Again it was the action of the Father Custodian, which in 1665 resulted in the arrest and conviction of Governor Penalzoa.²⁶ The decade following 1620 forms the most

²² Maas, *op. cit.*, 369.

²³ *Ibid.*, 370.

²⁴ Read, *op. cit.*, 251.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Read, *op. cit.*, 259.

glorious in the history of New Mexico. A siege of illness, indeed, took away many missionaries, so that by **Glorious Years** 1627 there were but sixteen priests and three Brothers.²⁷ But the Good Lord consoled His faithful workers by the miraculous coöperation of the Ven. Mother Mary of Agreda. During these ten years she appeared at various places, instructing the natives and preparing them for baptism.²⁸ The quality of missionaries, too, was of the highest. Among these we find the renowned author Salmeron. From 1621 to 1626 he was missionary among the Jemez, where he increased the number of converts by 6,500. Upon his return to Mexico he printed his *Doctrina* in the language of the Jemez, the first of its kind in the United States. Another illustrious member was Alonso Benavides, who built up the three missions among the Piro (Socorro) and inaugurated the mission for the Jicarilla Apaches at Santa Clara near Taos.

In 1622 the missions were formed into the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul, and Fr. Alonso Benavides was elected the first Custodian.²⁹ Through his efforts new missionaries arrived in 1629. At the close of that year there were twenty-five residences, from which the Fathers served the ten districts containing fifty-six thousand neophytes. In addition, new missions were opened. Fr. Francisco de Porras was sent to the ten thousand Moquis of Arizona. Another friar was sent to the two thousand inhabitants of the Rock of Acoma, who, till then, had presented a wall of stubborn resistance to the Padres. Fray Juan de Salas and Fr. Diego Lopez made a start among the Comanches of the Pecos, which was blessed by a multitude of miracles.³⁰

The success of the friars could not but arouse the ire of the Prince of Evil and of his satellites. Father Letrado was killed at Hawiku among the Zunis, February 22, 1632, whilst exhorting the Indians to come to Mass. Fray Martin de **Machinations of the Enemy** Arvide was overtaken by these same Indians a five days' journey down the Little Colorado and became the Proto-Martyr of Arizona. The

²⁷ "Introduction to Memorial of Fr. Alonso Benavides," by Fray Juan de Santander, Commissary General of the Indies. Translated in Read, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, 658.

²⁸ Otto Maas, O.F.M., *Misiones de Nuevo Mexico*, Madrid, 1929, I, 57 and 112, citing *Memorial of P. Nicolas Lopez*, Mexico, 1686.

²⁹ Introduction to Memorial of Benavides. Fr. Santander in Read, *op. cit.*, 658.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 674, 675, 699.

saintly Francisco de Porras, whose miraculous preaching had broken the power of the sorcerers, was poisoned by them and died at Aguatobi among the Moquis, June 28, 1633.³¹

In 1638 negotiations were on foot to form a *diocese* in New Mexico. But since the Father Custos already had the faculty to confirm, to absolve from reserved cases and to confer Minor Orders, and since the Indians would not be able to support a bishop, the Commissary of the Indies vetoed the plan. At the time the number of Indians had decreased to forty thousand, owing to the ravages of epidemics. These Indians were administered to by fifty missionaries living in thirty residences.³²

The Pueblos had now all become Catholic. But they were still neophytes, at most but one generation removed from heathenism. It would take another century of steady, grinding work to eradicate all that was pagan and to form a solid structure of faith. During the following decades the Fathers devoted themselves to this monotonous routine, the most trying of missionary activities.

All seemed to progress normally until Governor Penaloza allowed his soldiers and the settlers to abuse the natives. The Father Custos, indeed, succeeded in having the Governor removed in 1665.³³ But the seed of discontent had been sown and the mission cause suffered a great setback. About 1668, a sorcerer from near Taos, called Popé, a veritable instrument of evil, began his secret machinations to restore the heathen religion. The famine of 1670, which left but half of the population alive, and the subsequent epidemic of 1671, which took an additional toll of thousands,³⁴ were pointed to by him as signs of the displeasure of the rejected gods. To make matters worse, the Apaches of the East commenced a series of most destructive raids in 1672. The Comanche mission on the Pecos, the eastern outpost of the Province, was destroyed and five hundred families made destitute. Then followed the overthrow of the four missions in the Salinas district, whose imposing ruins astonish us to this day. Nine hundred families were rendered homeless, and at Abo Fr. Pedro de Ayala lost his life. In 1675 the marauding hordes reached the Piros

³¹ Habig, O.F.M., "The Franciscan Martyrs in America," *loc. cit.*

³² Report of Juan de Prada, Sept. 26, 1638, in Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo Mexico*, I, 20 ff.

³³ Read, *op. cit.*, 259.

³⁴ Report of Fray Francisco Ayeta, May 10, 1679, printed in Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo Mexico*, I, 57.

missions, the southernmost on the Rio Grande, destroying Senecu and murdering its missionary, Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila.³⁵ The sorcerer, Popé, pointed out that the Spaniards were unable to defend them. The earnest expostulations of Fr. Ayeta for additional protection resulted in but an inadequate increase,—the total of men, able to bear arms in all New Mexico, amounting to but one hundred and seventy. Our residences now numbered twenty-five. From these we attended to the forty-six pueblos, the number of whose inhabitants had dwindled to seventeen thousand.³⁶ Among these the sorcerer, Popé, continued his activities with a secrecy almost unparalleled in history.

Popé's diabolic plans matured on the Feast of St. Lawrence, August 10, 1680. On that day he and his adherents killed twenty-one members of our Order, including the Fr. Custos, Juan Bernal, burnt the churches and destroyed all that was Christian.³⁷ The result of eighty years' labor was demolished **Climax of Evil** and the pueblo mission work received a blow, from which it has never fully recovered. The rebellious pueblos were, indeed, finally brought back by force of arms. But to them Christianity became but a cloak, under whose exterior forms they continued to adhere to the pagan religion, which they had re-adopted on that fateful tenth of August.

Not all the pueblos, however, had joined in the uprising. These faithful communities, under guidance of the returning Padres, continued to advance in Christianity and their members have become good Catholics.

The Spanish survivors of the uprising and about one thousand faithful Indians retreated to the mission of El Paso. Whilst the Spanish Government made various attempts to reconquer the North the refugee Padres spread their activity among the neighboring Sumas and Manzos. Fr. Nicolas Lopez, whilst Custodian, even attempted, unsuccessfully however, to extend the mission work to the Comanches and other Texan tribes. By May, 1692, Governor De Vargas could hand over to the friars the *benplacitum* (deed) for five residences.³⁸ To defend these missions, the Crown

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 51 f.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

³⁷ *Report*, Fr. Ayeta, Sept. 11, 1680, *ibid.*, 86 ff.

³⁸ Memorial of Fr. Nicolas Lopez, Mexico, April 24, 1686, in Maas, *Misiones*, I, 109. Also Documents of transfer of residences, May 16, 17, 1692, Maas, *Misiones*, 159.

had authorized a Presidio at El Paso in 1683, mainly at the instance of the Fr. Custodian, Francisco Ayeta.³⁹

In his two campaigns of 1691 and 1692 De Vargas finally accomplished the reconquest of the lost pueblos. Some twenty Franciscans were with him on the spot to reopen the missions.

Although these Padres were gladly received by those who had not joined in the uprising their work among the rebellious pueblos was most discouraging. One June 4, 1696, another uprising cost the

lives of five Padres.⁴⁰ Among these was Fr. Francisco de Casanas, killed by the Jemez. He had volunteered for these missions from the newly founded College of Queretaro. He has the distinction of being the Proto-Martyr of the Propaganda in America.⁴¹ This rebellion was curbed so effectively by De Vargas that the Indians henceforth ceased to use force in resisting the efforts of the Padres. Exteriorly the work of the Church made progress in all the pueblos, except in those of the Moquis. These would not receive the friars. Thinking that a different religious Order might be more acceptable to the Moquis, the Jesuits attempted to take up the work, and even made two visits to the territory, one in 1730 and another in 1745.⁴² In 1776 our own Fr. Garces tried to influence the Moquis to welcome back the friars. (He was at Oraibi on July 4, 1776.) Fr. Silvestre Velez de Escalante, the missionary from Zuni, had made similar attempts at reconciliation during June and July of the year preceding (1775).⁴³

To this latter friar, too, we owe the discovery of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, in the fall of 1776.⁴⁴

The five missions around El Paso had been turned over to the secular clergy by the Bishop of Durango in 1756. But he soon realized that the instruction and training of the Indians had not yet been completed, and he was forced to beg the Franciscans to take them back in 1771.⁴⁵

³⁹ Royal Decree of Sept. 4, 1683, in Maas, *op. cit.*, I, 106.

⁴⁰ Read, *op. cit.*, 257 ff.

⁴¹ Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster in Westfalen, 1929, 237.

⁴² Read, *op. cit.*, 327, 329.

⁴³ *Diario* of Fr. Escalante, Zuni, Apr. 30, 1776, printed in Maas, *Viajes de Misioneros Franciscanos a la Conquista del Nuevo Mexico*, Sevilla, 1915, 65 ff.

⁴⁴ *Diario* of Fr. Escalante, Santa Fe, Jan. 3, 1777, in Maas, *Viajes etc.*, 98 ff.

⁴⁵ Summary of Indian Missions by Council of Indies, Feb. 29, 1780, Madrid; in Maas, *Las Ordenes Religiosas de Espana y la Colonizacion de America en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII*, Barcelona, 1918, 76.

Towards the end of the century, there were, in addition to the six friars around El Paso, 28 friars in the northern part of the Custody. These lived in three residences among the Spaniards, who had increased to sixteen thousand, and in eighteen residences among the twenty-one pueblos of Indians, whose population had dropped to 8,806.⁴⁶

By 1828 the care of the Spanish parishes and of three Indian communities had been turned over to the diocesan clergy. Several of the other pueblos were ready for such a transfer, when the decree, expelling all who would not take the oath of allegiance to the Mexican Government, drove away most of the clergy, both diocesan and regular.⁴⁷ In 1848, at Isleta, the last of the old Padres went to his reward, Fr. Mariano de Jesus Lopez.⁴⁸

In 1900, there were still 8536 Indians in the 19 pueblos. Some of these, as Isleta and San Juan, had become regular parishes, as had the missions around El Paso. But at the others, the work of Christianizing was still far from completed.

After an interval of more than fifty years the Province of St. John the Baptist of Cincinnati, Ohio, took up the strands where the Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico City and left off. Jemez, Zia, Santa Ana, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Laguna, Acoma Zuni are back under Franciscan care. In addition the frontier has been pushed back into the Navajo country, and, finally, given an opportunity, the Moqui stronghold will be the next objective. Let us wish our plucky confrères God's blessing. For the work to-day is, in one sense, more difficult than of old, since the Federal Government, taking stand against us, has inaugurated the policy of upholding the ancient superstitions.

II

THE PROVINCE OF TEXAS⁴⁹

A century and a half after the arrival of the "Twelve Apostles of Mexico" in 1524, the Franciscan Order had developed into the flourishing Provinces of Mexico, Michoacan, Jalisco, Zacatecas,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 76. *Estado de las Misiones de la Orden de S. Francisco, Año de 1788*; *En La Oficina de Benito Cano*, Madrid, 1788; Printed in Maas, *Viajes* etc., 187 ff. Archbishop Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, Banning, 1898, 102.

⁴⁷ Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 128, 159.

⁴⁸ A. F. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, 1890, 187.

⁴⁹ Unless otherwise noted this matter is based on Lemmens, O.F.M., *op. cit.*

Flourishing Provinces Yucatan, Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Discalced Province of San Diego. Although several of these still had missions among the infidels, yet this work had come to be considered in but a secondary light.

To Fr. Antonio Llinas there came the realization that there was an immense harvest in heathendom awaiting workers. There should be an institution in the Order, whose main objective should be the spread of the Gospel. He conceived the idea of the Apostolic College. He went to Rome and laid his plans at the feet of the Father General, Joseph Samaniego, and met with full-hearted coöperation. His Holiness, Pope Innocent XI, approved the special Constitutions, which segregated the Colleges from the Provinces, and placed them under the direction of the Propaganda. Only those intending to go to the missions could enter such a college. There they would have to undergo a special course of training preparing them for their objective by prayer, mortification, studies in language and ethnology of the pagans and in missionary technique. In order to safeguard against a loss of its essential character, no college might retain a mission that was in condition to be taken over by the diocesan clergy.⁵⁰

In 1683 Fr. Llinas arrived with twenty-four Franciscans, the nucleus of the first college, that of Santa Cruz at Queretaro. Nine years later a second foundation was made in Guatemala by the Ven. Antonio Margil. A third college, that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, opened its doors under the direction of the same zealous missionary in 1707 at Zacatecas. The college of San Fernando in Mexico City was founded in 1731.⁵¹

The colleges began to function immediately. Queretaro sent out Fathers in 1690 to reopen the mission, which the French Franciscans, Fr. Zenobius Membré and Fr. Maximus LeClerq, with their Sulpician companion, Chefdeville, had closed with their martyrdom three years previous. But in another three years they, too, had to retreat from the Trinity River, and the establishment on its banks, San Francisco de Tejas.⁵²

In 1716, the Padres were back again, led by the Ven. Antonio Margil, then attached to the college of Zacatecas. In that year the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe was founded among the Nacogdoches, the next year, Dolores and San Miguel among the

⁵⁰ Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 227 f.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 228, 247.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 237 f.

Adaes, near the Louisiana border. Forced to retreat by the French in 1719, they were back again after two years.⁵³

The colleges of Zacatecas and Queretaro labored conjointly in the Texas missions until 1772, when the latter was called upon to care for the missions of Pimeria Alta.

Whilst returning to the eastern Texas missions in 1721, Brother Joseph de Pita met his death from Apache arrows. Another confrère, Brother Luis de Montesdoca, had met his death in 1718, having been caught in a prairie fire.

In southern Texas, the Ven. Antonio Margil founded San Antonio (which was moved three times before being located at the Alamo, destined to become a hallowed spot in the hearts of all true Texans). San Jose, near the latter place, was founded in 1720.⁵⁴

In the Spring of 1757 the friars established a mission in the Apache country on the San Saba River, near the present town of Menard. The mission had been built in response to a request from the Apaches; but after it was built no Apaches could be induced to come in. It was destroyed by Comanche and northern Indians on the night of March 16, 1758, with scarcely an Indian in it that had not been brought from San Antonio.⁵⁵

That same year of 1758, we find the Apaches giving the crown of martyrdom to three missionaries.⁵⁶

By 1788, the missions among the Adaes had been discontinued owing to the withdrawal of the Presidio. But the Fathers continued to work among the Nacogdoches from out of the Spanish town of that name until 1834, when Fr. Antonio Diaz closed the list of friars by his martyrdom among these same Indians at the hands of bigoted Americans.⁵⁷

In 1793 the Indian missions of Texas comprised San Antonio, with 45 souls, San Jose with 114, Concepcion with 51, Capistrano with 34, San Francisco de la Espada with 46 (these three missions, founded in 1716 in eastern Texas, had been moved to the vicinity of San Antonio in 1730), Espiritu Santo with 82, Rosario with 33 (founded in 1754) and Refugio with 62, a total of 467 Mission Indians. Refugio is the last mission to be founded in Texas, viz., 1791. The

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains*, Ginn and Co., 1931, 127 f.

⁵⁶ Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 248.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 248; Habig, "Franciscan Martyrs of North America," *loc. cit.*

Spanish settlements of Texas comprised the Villa of San Fernando with the neighboring presidio of San Antonio de Bejar (these form the present town of San Antonio), Nacogdoches (N. Sra del Pilar de Bucareli), and the mines located mostly some hundred miles north of the capital. All told, this meant some three thousand souls under the spiritual care of the friars.⁵⁸

The nomadic character of the Texan tribes made mission work very difficult. As a result, the Indians gradually melted away from the reductions and were replaced by Spanish settlers, so that by the time of the Texas Independence, there were only White pueblos in that vast commonwealth.

III

THE DISTRICT OF PIMERIA ALTA

Upon the unjust expulsion of the Jesuits the missions of Pimeria Alta were entrusted to the college of Queretaro. The Franciscans entered upon their new charge in 1768. Fray Mariano was the first Superior. The eight residences were placed

The Padres in charge of as many friars, who found in the six-
Begin Their teen pueblos attached to these places, beside a sprink-
Work ling of 178 Spaniards, a total of 2,018 neophytes.⁵⁹

The Padres immediately complained to the Royal Visitador, Don Jose Galvez, "that it is morally impossible, to educate the Indians sufficiently . . . if the pubelos remain as they are, having only one missionary, and in his charge, stations to be attended." This complaint, renewed at intervals, during the rest of the Spanish period, remained unheeded, except in individual cases.

San Xavier del Bac, the northernmost of the missions of Pimeria Alta, formed, with its visita of Huscon, the outpost of Christendom. In the vast region beyond, west as far as the Pacific shores of California, north as far as the frigid shores of the Arctic, there was neither church nor chapel nor Padre. Fray Francisco Hermenegildo Garces was placed in charge of this important mission. He had been there barely two months, when he made a survey of

⁵⁸ *Informe General sobre las misiones de Nueva Espana*, by the Viceroy El Conde de Revillagigedo, Dec. 30, 1793, Mexico. Printed in Maas, *Las Ordenes etc.*, Barcelona, 1929, 146 f.

⁵⁹ This treatise is based chiefly on Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Franciscans in Arizona*, Harbor Springs, Mich., 1899.

the Papago Desert and of the Gila villages, with a view of recommending the extension of the chain of missions to those regions. He made a second entrada into those districts, for the same purpose, two years later. And in 1771 he extended his reconnoissances as far as the Yuman tribes along the Colorado. He insisted on making these trips without soldiers, accompanied only by one or the other faithful neophyte.

These three trips induced the Viceroy to appoint Don Juan Bautista de Anza to find a land route to California, in which undertaking he was instructed to follow in all things the advice of

Fr. Garces. The latter, with Fr. Juan Diaz as companion, therefore, went along with the expedition of **Task of De Anza** 1774 as far as Mission San Gabriel. And when in 1775, the first families for the new foundation of San Francisco were led along this same route by De Anza, we find among the members of the cavalcade, besides Fr. Font, the official diarist, Fr. Thomas Eixarch and our distinguished Fr. Francisco Garces.

The expedition reached Yuma December 14. Fathers Garces and Eixarch remained behind, the latter to inaugurate mission work among the Yumans, the former to continue his search for mission sites. In December he went down through the lower Colorado tribes, to the Gulf of California. On February 14, 1776, he left Yuma on an extensive trip, going up the Colorado to Mojave, thence across California to San Gabriel Mission, which he reached on March 24. Leaving San Gabriel on April 7, he went out through San Fernando Valley, crossed through Tejon Pass, went into the Tulare Valley as far north as the present Visalia, and turning south recrossed the mountains through Walkers Pass, being the first white man to visit that section. He continued his trek, going through the Mojave country to the Moquis, where he was on July 4, 1776. He was back at Yuma on August 27, and found the place deserted. Upon his return from California in May of that year, Anza had taken along with him the missionary, Thomas Eixarch.⁶⁰

Fr. Garces reached San Xavier in September. There he was mainly instrumental in the founding of both the city and of the Indian mission of Tucson.

Preparations were now under way for the founding of a perma-

⁶⁰ Engelhardt, unpublished MS.

nent mission at Yuma. Chief Palma and his son Pablo had been solemnly baptized in Mexico city, and upon their return to the

Colorado, were most enthusiastic in preparing their countrymen for the reception of the missionaries. But it was not until the last day of August, 1779, after most annoying delays, caused by the Government officials, that Father Garces succeeded in reaching his new destination among these Indians. On October 2, Fr. Juan Diaz joined him. The twelve soldiers who formed the guard and the missionaries began to suffer such hardships from the inability of the Indians to support them, that Fr. Juan Diaz was sent to the Comandante General De Croix at Arispe, to obtain relief. This gentleman responded to the appeal by ordering the organization of two pueblos of ten Spanish families each, guarded by ten soldiers and supplied with six laborers. The Indians were to be induced to join these communities, living side by side with the Whites. The Fathers were to confine themselves to preaching and the Sacraments. Over the protests of Father Garces, De Croix insisted on this plan. In the autumn of 1780 the colonists arrived at the Puerto de Concepcion. Here the first pueblo was erected, the settlers occupying the lands of the Indians. A second pueblo was organized at Bicuner, dedicated to San Pedro y San Pablo. This was three leagues up the river.⁶¹

To be able to do some good among the Indians, disgruntled at the unjust seizure of their fields, the Fathers built a missionary station at some distance from the pueblo. A few of the Indians responded. The majority of the Indians, however, developed a deep hatred for the Spaniards, when the latter commenced to add insult to injury, and to abuse them. The climax was reached, when Chief Palma was arrested and placed in the stocks by the military commander. The end of it all came speedily. On July 17, the Indians revolted, killing the Spaniards, including Fr. Diaz and Moreno at Bicuner. Fr. Garces and Fr. Barraneche were clubbed to death at the hut of a friendly Indian near their mission on July 19.

Some years previous, a similar unreasonable urging on the part of the civil authorities forced the founding of a mission among the Seris, on the mainland opposite Tiburon Island, against the suggestions of the Padres. The result was that after three months

⁶¹ Fr. Felix Pudlowski, O.F.M., Cf. Discussion appended to this paper.

of activity, on March 7, 1773, the zealous Fray Gil was a martyr.

The tragedy of Yuma, indeed, prevented the further establishment of any new missions, beyond San Xavier, as planned by the martyred Garces. Nevertheless, to the prayers of these Confessors of the Colorado, we must attribute the wonderful success, which began to manifest itself in the missions already established. Barely a year after the massacre, Fr. Antonio Reyes was consecrated first bishop of the new diocese of Sonora, and Arispe, from which place De Croix would not listen to the pitiful appeals of Garces, became the episcopal seat. One of the principal achievements of this new bishop was the formation of the Custody of San Carlos in 1783. Father Sebastian, the first Custodian, was soon succeeded by Fray Antonio Barbastro. This practical missionary negotiated the dissolution of the Custody after eight years of its existence.

Whilst the remains of the martyred friars were being transferred from Tubutama to their final resting place at Queretaro, there was being erected at San Xavier del Bac, by his former charges, as it were, a monument to their heroic and beloved Garces, the magnificent structure which graces that Papago pueblo. This building, completed in 1797, after 14 years of labor, is not the only one produced by the zeal of our confrères of Pimeria Alta during this period. Caborca, Pitiquito, Uquitoa, Tubutama, San Ignacio, Cocospera, Tumucacori, are all edifices to which the Order may point with justifiable pride.

As in New Mexico, the successful progress of the missions was abruptly halted by the law of 1828, which expatriated all missionaries who would not renounce their allegiance to Spain. De-

The Fate of Yuma deprived of the protecting supervision of the Padres, most of the neophytes in the Altar and Magdalena Valleys were crowded away from their beautiful pueblos back into the neighboring mountains. Only Bisanig, near Caborca, and San Xavier del Bac, to which latter place the Papagos from Tucson and Tumacacori had receded, remained in full control of the natives.

Three-quarters of a century rolled by before the Franciscans could return to complete the task left unfinished in Pimeria Alta.

Yuma, where Fr. Garces had closed his blessed career, was the first to see the return of the habit of St. Francis. In 1886, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt brought the Sisters of St. Joseph to the site of the old Mission Concepcion, and by a most unique arrangement

had Mother Ambrose appointed Government Superintendent. The Sisters, unfortunately, had to leave after some years and the Methodists grasped this opportunity to win over, nominally at least, the majority of the tribe. The Franciscans, however, returned in 1919, and are gradually regaining lost ground. Beautiful St. Thomas Mission with its Garces Memorial, let us hope, is but the beginning of a chain of missions extending up the Colorado among the kinsfolk of the Yumas, which will realize the dream of Fray Hermenegildo Garces.

The Gila River Pimas were the next to witness the return of the friars. Father Garces had planned two missions among these Indians. His plans were more than realized. Although the Presbyterians had succeeded in bringing over most of the Indians to their ways, yet our confrères, notable **Regaining** among whom is the zealous and pious Fr. Justin **Lost Ground** Deutsch, have succeeded in erecting a cordon of seven missions with day schools in the Gila Valley, two in the Salt River Valley and St. John's Mission and boarding school.

The return of the Franciscans to San Xavier del Bac was not affected until 1911. From this mission the work was pushed into the Papago Desert, where Fr. Mathias Rechsteiner had done some preliminary work in 1908 and 1909. As a result, where Fr. Garces had planned two missions, one at Santa Rosa and one at Sonoyta, the Province of Santa Barbara can now point with pride to twenty churches, not counting smaller chapels, eight schools, 2,500 baptized neophytes and as many catechumens in the eleven Papago pueblos, north of the international boundary.

And finally to top the most sanguine expectations of Father Garces, the soldiers of the Cross have invaded the Apache domain, and from the headquarters at San Carlos, Whiteriver and Mescalero, hope with the prayers of the many confrères, who have gone before us in these parts, to win over this last frontier of the Kingdom of St. Francis.

IV

THE PROVINCE OF CALIFORNIA

The history of the California Mission is the account of incessant struggles on the part of the missionaries against all kinds of opposing forces. This is the more astonishing, as the friars had been called to aid the civil and military authorities in securing the ter-

ritory for the crown of Spain by winning the natives for Christianity and thus leading them to become loyal subjects. Without the missionaries the soldiery had in previous attempts elsewhere, and in spite of an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars, failed to accomplish the task. One should suppose that the missionaries would have received every encouragement from those in power; but such assistance seldom, if ever, came to cheer the dreary existence of the Fathers among their dull converts.⁶²

The California Mission system was unique in this, that there was a fund, donated by private benefactors during the Jesuit period. The interest of this fund was to be used for the support of the California Missions. This was called the Pious Fund. It provided for the establishment and first maintenance of the missions.

Fray Junipero Serra and his confrères from the College of San Fernando in Mexico City are the founders of the California Missions. At first, entrusted with the missions of the unjustly expelled

Jesuits in lower California, to which group of missions **Founder** he added San Fernando de Velicatá, he was later ordered to proceed to California Alta. The first mission was founded at San Diego on July 16, 1769. After a reconnaissance to the north, which resulted in the discovery of San Francisco Bay on October 31, by Portola and Fathers Crespi and Gomez, San Carlos was founded on the Bay of Monterey the following Pentecost. The Indian mission was moved to Carmelo the next year and the missions of San Gabriel, San Antonio and San Luis Obispo were added to the group.

Here Fray Junipero Serra realized the need of specific legislation to cover the work in California, so as to secure efficient co-operation between the missionary and the military. To secure this he went to Mexico City and was very successful in his efforts. In 1774 he allowed Fathers Crespi and Peña to accompany Juan Perez on his voyage of exploration along the Coast, which reached latitude 55. Again in 1775 two missionaries lost valuable time when they had to accompany a similar expedition, which reached 58 degrees.

A few days after the founding of San Juan Capistrano came the first great disappointment from the Indians. On November 5,

⁶² This treatise on the Province of California is an excerpt from Engelhardt's *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Barry Co., San Francisco, Volumes II, 1912, III, 1912, IV, 1913.

1775, the neophytes of San Diego revolted and killed Fr. Luis Jayme, who thus became the first martyr of California.

Indian The others who lost their lives at the hands of the Indians
Revolt were Fr. Francisco Pujol, who was poisoned at San Antonio in 1801, and Fr. Andres Quentana, who was lured away to a false sick-call and killed at Santa Cruz in 1812.

Amid the confusion, following the uprising at San Diego, Juan Bautista de Anza arrived by the overland route through Yuma from Pimeria Alta with the settlers for the proposed town of San Francisco. The presidio and mission at this place were founded the same year of 1776, as was the mission of Santa Clara. Before the saintly death, on August 28, 1784, of the first Presidente, the towns of San José and Los Angeles (1781) were built for the Spaniards. It might be mentioned here that Father Junipero Serra had the power to confirm, which privilege he used for the first time on June 29, 1778. His successor, Father Lasuen, exercised the same power, as did others, including Fr. Garcia Diego before his consecration.

The second President, Fray Fermin Lasuen, extended the mission chain to include Santa Barbara, in 1786, Concepcion in 1787, Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791, San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel and San Fernando in 1791 and San

Wholesome Luis Rey in 1798. The third Presidente, Esteban
Growth Tapis, added Santa Ines in 1804. This completed the first series of missions. San Rafael, added in

1817, and San Solano, founded in 1823, were really missions of San Francisco, and gradually became independent. The year 1805 saw the greatest number of Padres in California during the mission period, *viz.*, thirty-eight regular and seven supernumeraries in the nineteen missions. Thus during the forty years, whilst the Spanish Government, for the most part grudgingly, complied with its agreement to defend the missionary system, the Fathers contrived to establish these nineteen Christianizing and civilizing centers, which, by 1820, contained a population of 20,010. Despite unfavorable conditions and much opposition, these achieved a success, which surpasses that of any similar effort anywhere in the United States. During this first period, they gathered, instructed and baptized 51,400 Indians, who, but for the labors of the missionaries, would never have known the Creator, nor the end for which they were created. At the same time they weaned their converts from a life of abject idleness,

taught them how to support themselves and put them on the way to become useful citizens. All this cost the Government nothing, since the friars served without compensation. The allowance from the Pious Fund, whilst it lasted, was used for embellishing the churches, or turned over to the general mission fund.

In 1815 the disturbances in Mexico began to make themselves felt among the missions. The support from the mother country failed to come for the support of the militia. As a result the burden of support fell on the missions, and by 1820 these institutions had extended credit to the military for a half million dollars, which debt, by the way, has never been paid. For the same reason, the interest from the Pious Fund ceased to arrive.

**Arresting
the Progress**

This is why the proposed second group of missions in the San Joaquin Valley failed to materialize. As early as 1814 Fr. Juan Cabot had left San Miguel for the purpose of discovering suitable sites. Father Luis Martinez of San Miguel went on a similar errand in 1816. All that could be achieved was to invite the Indians of that region to join the establishments along the coast. Many followed this call, going principally to San Miguel and to San Juan Bautista.

This contact with the Tulare Indians, however, had another and unintended result. It afforded the wild natives an opportunity of raiding the missions, especially for horses, and it furnished an asylum for runaway neophytes from the same institutions. The number of the latter increased alarmingly, during this period, since the Indians were dissatisfied, that they had to work for the support of the soldiers, who in return gave them nothing but insult and abuse. These truants joined the gentiles and became a menace to public welfare. Matters came to a head when, in a deadly encounter at San Buenaventura, ten Mojaves and one mission Indian lost their lives. Upon the appeal of the Fr. Presidente, Mariano Payeras, Governor Sola then sent three expeditions into the San Joaquin country, in 1819, and succeeded in curbing the trouble from that source. But the insolence of the soldiery continued to be a source of dissatisfaction to the Indians at the reductions. This provoked an insurrection in the missions along the Santa Barbara Channel in 1824, namely, Purissima Concepcion, Santa Ines and Santa Barbara. It was suppressed, but not without considerable loss of Indian life.

In 1812 a change had been inaugurated in the administration of the missions. The office of *Comisario Prefecto* was created to represent the *Commissary General* of the Indies in matters concerning the observance of the Franciscan Rule. This year was also the year of earthquakes. At Purissima all the buildings were wrecked, so that the Fathers removed to another locality on the other side of the Santa Ines River. At San Juan Capistrano the new stone church came down and crushed thirty-nine Indians under its ruins. The church at Santa Barbara Mission was damaged beyond repair, so that another, the present one, had to be erected.

In 1833 another change in the ecclesiastical management took place, when the northern missions were turned over to the Fathers from the college of Zacateca, who had arrived, under the guidance of their first *Comisario Prefecto*, Fr. Garcia Diego.

The question of the oath of allegiance to the Mexican Government, which had spelled the ruin in the missions of New Mexico and Arizona, did not have the same drastic effects in California. As in the Provinces to the east, the majority of the California friars refused to take the oath. Governor Echeandia, indeed, placed Fr. Vincente Sarria, the *Comisario*, under an arrest that lasted five years, but this only prevented him from leaving Monterey. The Government had to have friars in charge, if for the sole purpose of supporting the military. There were no others capable to take their place as mission managers.

But in 1830, Governor Echeandia banished Fr. Luis Martinez on a trumped up charge of disloyalty. Fr. Luis was the man, without whose assistance, the Argentinian invasion of 1818 under Bouchard could not have been repulsed. Echeandia, with his

Secularization critic, Martinez, out of the way, now started his plan to secularize the missions. The assembly, composed of only four members, beside the Governor and the Secretary, on August 3, 1830, adopted a plan of gradually transforming the missions into pueblos, beginning significantly with those nearest the white settlements. But his attempt was thwarted by the arrival of Governor Victoria in 1831. Father Narciso wrote his famous defense of the Indian mission system in the same year, and in Congress representative Carlos Carrillo presented his impassioned appeal to continue the same system. Echeandia, defeating Victoria in battle, made a second unsuccessful

ful attempt at secularization in 1832, which attempt provoked another brilliant refutation from the pen of Fray Narciso Duran. But all this did not prevent Congress from passing the act of secularization August 17, 1833, which was promulgated at Monterey August 9, of the following year. This act divided the lands into allotments for the individual Indians, into community lands of the pueblo, and into lands which had to be worked for the upkeep of the church and the village. The Padres were restricted to purely ecclesiastical work. The administration of the properties was entrusted to Government representatives called *Comisionados*.

To insure the success of the two chief aims—the conversion of the savages and their civilization—so much land belonging to the aborigines in the neighborhood of their principal settlements as could be cultivated advantageously was set apart, in order to give occupation to the neophytes, and to raise the produce and livestock required for their support. The missionaries never claimed any part of the wealth created, but considered themselves guardians of the Indians, until the latter should have proved their ability to stand alone. In that case, the friars intended to withdraw, after turning over the lands and other property to the Indians, to be managed without interference by white officials. The church and the spiritual management of the neophytes would be turned over to the diocesan clergy. This would take more than ten years, allowed by some inexperienced theorists among the Government officials, more than the fifty years conceded by some of the church officials. It took centuries for our European ancestors to become good Christians. We cannot expect more from the Indians. The secularization therefore was too early. Though it required some years to finish the ruin of the missionary establishments, this was the beginning of it. As for the Indian pueblos, which were to take their place, there was no success in any of them. The secularization furnished a rich harvest for those engaged in it. No charge of corruption could have been sustained against Governor Figueroa himself, and there may have been a few others engaged in the work, equally clear of offense; but the great mass of commissioners and other officials, whose duty it became to administer the properties of the missions, and especially their great numbers of horses, cattle, sheep and other animals, accomplished little else than enriching themselves. A few years sufficed to strip the establish-

ments of everything of value, and leave the Indians, a shivering crowd of naked, and, as it were, homeless wanderers upon the face of the earth.

The year of secularization saw Father Diego Garcia leave for Mexico to receive the episcopal consecration, and to return as the first bishop of California. During his episcopate, the College of

Our Lady of Sorrows was founded to serve as a nucleus for a clergy for California. Under Bishop Amat, this college was moved to the old Mission, and the Cathedral was transferred to the town. Owing to the lack of vocations, the Apostolic College produced but sparse results. Therefore in 1885, the last Guardian, Father Romo, turned over the Old Mission, together with the Watsonville orphanage, which had been lately taken over by the Padres, to the Province of the Sacred Heart of St. Louis, Mo. Thus ended the days of the Spanish Padre in California.

DISCUSSION

FR. FELIX PUDLOWSKI, O.F.M.:—Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., and Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of Berkeley University are authorities who outrank other writers on the Mission history of the Southwest. The death of Father Engelhardt leaves Dr. Bolton alone in that position.

The writer of this discussion received a communication from Dr. Bolton in which he stated that Father Bonaventure Oblasser, O.F.M., knows more about the Papago Indians and their country than any other man ever knew. We who have heard Father Bonaventure's paper realize the justice of Dr. Bolton's tribute to our confrère. He evinces not merely a comprehensive knowledge of the Papago Indians and their country, but also of adjacent tribes and regions. His paper demonstrates a thorough acquaintance with the writings of the best historical authorities on the Southwest, a clear view of the topography of the country and a personal knowledge acquired by twenty-seven years of pioneering missionary work in the region which he discusses. His statements and conclusions, therefore, deserve attention and study.

Father Bonaventure allows that "the path for the friars (into Texas, New Mexico and Arizona) was prepared by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions." But he maintains, contrary to the general opinion, that these forerunners of the friars did not enter within the confines of the present state of Arizona but kept well south of them.

This conclusion seems to be well-grounded and worthy of adoption. It is based on de Vaca's own account in which he mentions his great desire to get to the water (the gulf) i.e., by going west and south to meet his fellow-Spaniards as soon as possible. Indian trails were at hand which led in the direction so much desired by de Vaca and, though difficult to travel, were not insuperable. Spanish pioneers made it a rule to use Indian trails and it

would be hard to understand why de Vaca would deviate from this procedure in the present instance, especially in view of the fact that by adhering to the trails he would have a better and quicker opportunity of realizing his objective.

Those who route the travellers northward and then southward, a trip forming a spearhead into Arizona and adding many miles, apparently forget de Vaca's eagerness to come to the end of the trail; they must make these weary and footsore men pass through a sparsely inhabited country, meet with Indians wilder than the Apaches, and finally bring them into the mountainous country of Mexico by an artificial pass.

Father Bonaventure also approaches the much discussed Fray Marcos de Niza from a new angle. It has been assumed without good reason that Fray

Appreciation of Fray Marcos de Niza

Marcos was either ignorant or untruthful. Either or both assumptions make the friar "one of the best slandered men of them all," as Mr. C. F. Lummis expresses it. Father Bonaventure with better understanding takes the position that Fray Marcos was capable and truthful. He pursues his investigation from this stand

and finds the friar to have been the first European to enter the present state of Arizona.

The writer of this discussion was consulted by Father Bonaventure on one point when the work of the Franciscans among the Yuma Indians on the Colorado River was to be treated. The consultation was held regarding the sites of the two settlements, namely, La Concepción and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.

It is now generally admitted by all writers on the subject that the site of the first pueblo, La Concepción, is the present Fort Yuma, California. The position of the San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer is the one in question.

The site of this second pueblo has been put three leagues south of La Concepción by various writers. The present writer is of the opinion that San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer must be placed three leagues north of the first pueblo, La Concepción.

Sites of

Settlements

A detailed presentation of this question is in preparation, and for the present only one or the other important argument will be given.

I. The Yuma Indians have a constant and universal tradition that the settlement of San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer was north of La Concepción. They place it on the sloping lands of the mountain range north of Fort Yuma (La Concepción) in the vicinity of one mountain, known as Avicuñer (Bicuñer).

II. After the terrible massacre and burning of the two towns in July, 1781, became known in the south, Pedro Fages came to chastize the Indians, to obtain the release of captives and to recover the bodies of the martyred Padres. We have Fages's diary of that march. If we retrace his route according to the diary, we find him on the north side of the Gila River, November 29, 1781. From this position he made a circuitous ride of about five leagues to the Ford of Bicuñer without recrossing the Gila; hence, north of Concepción.

This conclusion is confirmed in a recent work of Dr. Bolton, *Anza's California Expedition*, Vol. II, p. 169. Therein we read: "Right where we halted there are two small hills between which both rivers pass. The site is suitable and safe for a settlement, and we named it The Pass of La Concepción. . . . The Indians told me that *downstream below these hills there is never a ford* (Italics by present writer), it being always necessary to swim a considerable distance, although the river is divided into parts."

These are the main points to be discussed in Father Bonaventure's paper which clearly showed that the work of the Franciscans in the Southwest gives meaning to the glorious phrase Nuevo Reino del San Francisco, The New Kingdom of St. Francis.

FR. CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.M.Cap.:—It pleased me that Fr. Bonaventure made mention of the Ven. Mary of Agreda. Her many bilocations in behalf of the Indians of Mexico are well authenticated in the Process for her

**Ven. Mary
of Agreda**

Beatification. These documents are preserved in the Archives of the General Curia of the Friars Minor in Rome, and, please God, she will one day be raised to the honors of the altar. Since her work in America was so phenomenal we ought to stress it because her case was unique, in so far as I could ascertain, till Teresa Helena Higginson (1845-1905) seems to have been able to help natives in Patagonia in a similar fashion. Moreover, the Ven. Mary of Agreda was a Franciscan and so she deserves special mention in Franciscan American History even though she assisted in the miraculous manner of bilocation. I should like it to go on record that her case was discussed here and that we honored her.

SPANISH FRANCISCANS IN THE SOUTHEAST

FR. DIOMEDE POHLKAMP, O.F.M.

Several years ago Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., wrote the author of this paper an encouraging letter calling attention to a passage in the *American Historical Review* of 1917, where Dr. Bolton states: "If there were 21 missions in California, there were as many in Texas, more in Florida and twice as many in New Mexico. At one time the California missions had over 30,000 Indians under instructions, but a century and a half earlier the missions of Florida and New Mexico each had an equal number."¹

With Franciscan history as its subject it was only natural for this Conference to include among its papers one dealing with the early Franciscan Missions of the Southeast in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. Since the topic is so broad and far-embracing, a brief outline is all to be expected here.

Of all our States, ancient Florida was the first upon which the cross of Christ was planted. From the date of its discovery in 1512 by Ponce de Leon, expedition after expedition landed on the shores of Florida. Whatever were the hopes or ambitions of the early adventurers, it was put before them by the Spanish Crown as their first and chief concern to reclaim the children of the forest from paganism and, therefore "The adventurer, the soldier and the padre always landed together."

The first Franciscan to arrive in the present territory of the United States was Father Juan Juarez, O.F.M., who with Father Juan de Palos, O.F.M., accompanied Panfilo de Narvaez on his expedition to Florida. Regarding the number of Franciscan missionaries who on this occasion sailed to Florida, the historians differ greatly, some say there were two,² others four³ and others eight.⁴

¹ Bolton, Herbert, "The Missions in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, 1917, 45.

² Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, Mexico, 1870, 616-617-628; Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, P. III; Liber XX, Chapter XXIII; Garcia Icazbalceta, *Nueva Coll. de documentos*, T. II, 201.

³ Harold, *Epitome Ann. Ord. Min. Ann. 1527*, n. 1; Holzapfel, *Manuale Historiae Ord. Frat. Min.*, Friburg, 1909, 648.

⁴ Abad y Lasierra, *Documentos Historicos de la Florida y la Louisiana Siglos, XVI al XVII*, 35.

Concerning this particular, however, we have the report of the "Voyage of Panfilo de Narvaez from the River of Palms to the point of Florida," written by the treasurer of the expedition, Cabeza de Vaca,⁵ who sailed on this same unfortunate adventure. This report clarifies the doubt and gives us the result of this first Franciscan mission in Florida. The treasurer, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca says that the fleet of Narvaez was made up of five ships and that he sailed out of port of San Lucar de Barrameda on January 17, 1527. Father Juan Juarez, O.F.M., a priest of the Order of St. Francis, went as Commissary together with four other friars of the same order.⁶ On the island of Santo Domingo they were detained forty-five days and after having escaped many dangers, they arrived on the coast of Florida, April 12, 1528. On Good Friday, April 13, they anchored near Tampa Bay. The Spanish soldiers endured many hardships, to which Cabeza de Vaca refers in detail, but the Franciscans were as courageous as the soldiers, sharing in their misfortune. Of the two hundred and forty-two men who accompanied Panfilo Narvaez four only survived, namely, Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo and Esteban, a negro slave. All the rest perished, some at sea, others on the land at the hands of the Indians and the greater number of hunger.⁷

This is briefly the unfortunate end of the first Franciscan mission to Florida. Mendieta says that, "without accomplishing a single thing they died in that country." At the present time it is admitted by most historians that Father Juan Juarez was appointed the first Bishop of Florida and Rio della Plata by Pope Clement VII in 1527.⁸ All seem to agree, however, in stating

⁵ Hodge, Fred, *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*, Scribner, New York, 1907, 14, 21, 23, 25, 33; Irving Theodore, *Conquest of Florida*, N. Y., 1851, Chapter XXVI, 144; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexico*, Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, 1913, I, 65, 66.

⁶ Holzapfel, H., *Geschichte des Franciscaner Ordens*, Herder, Freiburg, 1909, 519; Shea, J. Gilmary, *History of Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, P. J. Kenedy, New York, 1883, 39-53 and 72.

⁷ De Ore, P. Jeronimo, Franciscano, *Relacion Historica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII*, Edicion, Prologo y. notas del P. Atanasio Lopez, O.F.M., Imprenta de Romona Veslasco, Madrid, 1931; Engelhardt, Z., *Catholic Historical Review*, IV, 479; Engelhardt, Z., *Missions of California*, Barry Company, San Francisco, 1908, I, 604; Shea, *Catholic Historical Review*, II, 404, n. 5.

⁸ Wadding, referring to episcopal appointments by Clement VII in 1527, says: "Pro Episcopatu vastissimae provinciae Floridae, fratrem Joannem Suarez." *Annales*, Quaracchi, 1933, XVI, p. 286; "Frater Joannes Suarez designatus Episcopus et Commissarius Floridae." *Ibid.*, p. 294.

that he died before his Episcopal consecration. In 1539 Hernando de Soto arrived, as Governor of Florida, at Tampa Bay with a colony of 600.⁹ Among the eight priests who landed with De Soto only one was a Franciscan, Father Juan de Torres, a native of Seville.¹⁰

Discouraged at the costly failure of early attempts to colonize perilous Florida, Philip II, King of Spain, in 1561 decided to abandon Florida, but his decision was soon changed, when the French arrived on the shores of the Atlantic.

Royal Although Ribaut's ill-fated colony at Port Royal
Discouragement had failed in 1562, Laudoniere nevertheless built in 1564, Fort Carolina on the St. John River near the present city of Jacksonville, Florida. The French intrusion called for action and Philip II sent, in September, 1565, Menendez de Aviles to expel the French invaders and to colonize the Atlantic coast. Menendez reached Florida and founded St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest city of the United States, on the feast of St. Augustine, September, 1565. Menendez was not only a soldier of the King of Spain, but also a soldier of God.¹¹ He therefore secured in 1566 Jesuit missionaries to convert the Indians and teach them the rudiments of civilization.¹² After several missionaries had been martyred, St. Francis Borgia, General of the Jesuits, in 1572, recalled these missionaries.

After the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries had abandoned Florida, Menendez de Aviles turned again to the Franciscans. On February 23, 1573, a royal decree was issued in Madrid directing the Governor to continue the conquest of Florida, and His Majesty, the King, commanded among other things the following:

Moreover, our decree orders that twelve religious of the order of St. Francis accompany said expedition, and if they are of these realms, they

⁹ Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1925, 10; De Ore, *op. cit.*, 15; Bolton-Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, 1492-1783, 41.

¹⁰ Vide O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida*, New York, 1930, 19, 21, 22, 29. De Ore, *op. cit.*, 9.

¹¹ Note. About the year 1566 Menendez had asked for eleven Franciscan Missionaries for Florida. It seems that they never embarked with Las Alas and their mission must have been forbidden by higher authority—Vide Kenny, Michael, S.J., *Romance of Florida*, 147.

¹² Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, 135; Schmidlin-Braun, *Catholic Mission History*, Mission Press, Techny, Illinois, 1933, 435.

may go at our expense as do the rest of the religious, who go to our Indians at this time.¹³

At the present time we do not know the names of the Franciscan missionaries who arrived in 1573 at Santa Elena, Georgia, but it is almost certain that among them were Father Alonso de Reynoso and Father Francisco Marron.¹⁴

Most of the missionary activity of the Franciscans centered at St. Augustine, Florida. Some of the missionaries went first to Guale (Georgia coast) only to be expelled or martyred, but the friars feared no obstacle. At Tolomato, at Tupique and at Guale Island, all in the Georgia territory, chapels were reared. On the coast of the Atlantic, San Pedro (Cumberland Island, Georgia) became an important mission, where Father Balthasar Lopez won renown, but the hero of this early Franciscan history, was Fray Alonso Reinoso. Devout, prudent, and with genuine zeal for souls, he was truly a Junipero Serra on the Atlantic coast.¹⁵

These early missionaries found the Indians distributed over the entire Southern Peninsula. To the northwest, the populous tribes of the Apalache inhabited the country, watered by the Swanee and Apalachicola Rivers; the Timucuans occupied the center of the peninsula, with numerous settlements along the St. John's River; the Calusa or Carlos in the Southwest ranged from Cape Sable to Tampa Bay; on Biscayne Bay the small settlement of Tequestas seems to have come from the Bahama Islands and contracted kinship with the Calusas; along the Indian River south of Cape Canaveral lived the Ays Indians.¹⁶

The Guale territory embraced the coastal regions from Cumberland, Georgia north to Parris Island, South Carolina. The Island of Guale was the present St. Catharine Island, Georgia, but later on when the Christian Indians were forced, in 1686, by the

¹³ *Ruidiaz y Caravia La Florida, su conquista y Colonizacion por Pedro Menendez*, tom. II, 295-298; 368-373; *Archivo Ibero Americano*, T. XXVIII, 46 y siguientes; De Ore, *op. cit.*, 24.

¹⁴ Vide *Archivo Ibero Americano*, XXVIII, 1927, 45-69.

¹⁵ Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 14—Father Reynoso's missionary activity is reviewed in a document of 1602 entitled "Florida," *Materias Gubernativas* (A. S. I., 86-5-24.).

¹⁶ Veale, James, "Catholic Encyclopedia," VI, 119; Swanton's *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 94.

English to the South, Amelia Island, Florida, became known as Santa Maria de Guale.¹⁷

The Yamasee Indians were a distinct tribe living in the outskirts of the Guale district. Some historians have thought that the Yamaseeans and Gualeans were identical.

So successful had been the zeal and work of Father Alonso de Reynoso that the Council of the Indies, November 13, 1583, authorized him to go to Spain to gather new Missionary forces and soon eight Franciscans and two servants embarked for Florida.¹⁸ In 1586 Father Alonso Reinoso again braved the storms of the sea and journeyed to Spain to secure more laborers in the vineyard of the Lord. This time he secured thirteen Franciscans,¹⁹ "that the Divine Savior may be preached to the Indian with brave and constant strength." Among the missionaries was Father Alonso de Escobedo,²⁰ who has written a priceless poem of 449 pages on the early activity of the Franciscans in Florida and Georgia. This manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Madrid.

In the year 1593, under the leadership of Father Juan de Silva, twelve Franciscans²¹ arrived and now the real apostolic work began in Georgia and Florida.

In October, 1595, a new impetus was given to missionary activity

¹⁷ Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 9, n. 1. In English books Guale is also spelled "Wallie."

¹⁸ Father Alonso de Reynoso took with him from the Province of Santiago, May 7, 1584, the following eight Franciscans. Father Pedro de Auilar, Father Pedro Arias, Father Juan de Santa Anna, Father Francisco de la Cruz, Father Raphael de Castillo, Father Juan de San Nicholas, Father Alonso Perez, Father Gaspar de los Reyes.

¹⁹ Father Alonso de Escobedo gives us the family names of these thirteen missionaries in his poem.

"One was Reinoso, another Vigo,
Hojeda, Fr. Antonio and Fustamento,
Corpa, Manzano, Torquemada and Oviedo,
Gomez, Lopez, and Ruiz, with Escobedo."

²⁰ Escobedo, Alonso de, O.F.M.—*La Florida O'Vida de S. Diego de Alcalá et martirio de religiosos y los hechos de varios Espanoles en Florida, M.N.*—Madrid, B. Nac. M.-220; Civezza, de Marcellino, *Saggio di Bibliografia in Prato*, 1879, 165; Streit, Robert, *Biblio. Missionum*, Münster, Germany, 1928, III, 365.

²¹ Father Miguel de Annon, Father Pedro de Annon, Father Pedro Fernandez de Chozas (Predicadores); Father Blas de Montes, Father Francisco Pareja, Father Pedro de San Gregorio, Father Francisco de Velascola, Father Francisco de Avila, Father Francisco Bonilla, Father Pedro Ruiz (sacerdotes y confesores); and Father Pedro Viniegra, layman, who was later ordained priest Barcia, *op. cit.*, 166-167. Vide—Lanning, John Tate, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935, 250.

when five Franciscans were sent to the Guale territory. In seven towns along the Georgia coast, old churches were restored or new ones built. Father Fernandez de Chozas, the explorer, and Father Francisco Pareja, the linguist, labored on San Pedro Island (Cumberland Island); Father Francisco Davilla, the captive of the Cross, on Ospo (Jekyl Island); Father Francisco Verascola, the Cantabrian giant, on Asao (St. Simon Island); and zealous Father Pedro de Corpa on the mainland at Tolomato, opposite Zapelo Island; Father Blas Rodriguez at Tupique on the mainland and Father Miguel Auñon and Brother Anthonio Badajoz at San Catalina de Guale (St. Catharine Island).²²

Encouraging and gratifying was the harvest of souls of these early missionaries in Georgia. Zealous for spiritual conquest, Father Chozas and Father Verascola journeyed inland eight days on horseback to distant Tama and Ocute near the

Winning present city of Atlanta, Georgia. For two years these
Souls in Guale missions flourished, but in September, 1597,
Georgia Juanillo, heir of the mico of Tolomato organized a revolt, because Father Pedro de Corpa had corrected him privately and then publicly on account of his immoral conduct.²³ Bitterly disappointed at the loss of the micoship, he now became the leader of the malcontents. Father Pedro de Corpa was slain and beheaded at Tolomato, September 13, 1597. From Tolomato the frenzied Indians rushed south to the other missions gathering strength as they travelled. Father Blas Rodriguez at Tupique was killed at the altar.²⁴ Father Miguel de Auñon and Brother Anthonio Badajoz died at the foot of the Cross on Sep-

²² Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 15.

²³ De Ore, *Relacion de los Martires que la habido en las Provincias de la Florida*, Lopez Edition, 1931, 86, 97. Bolton, Herbert, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 15, states that these five Franciscans were martyred in Georgia and not in Florida. Torquemada in his *Monarquia Indiana*, gives us detailed reports. Accounts in English are given by Gilmary Shea in *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, 153; *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII, 1923, 44-53; *St. Anthony's Messenger*, April and December, 1933. Swanton's *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 85, gives us Barcia's version of the revolt and the martyrdom of the five Franciscans in 1597. Barcia, *La Florida*, 170-172.

²⁴ The *Annales Minorum* of 1595, No. 14, states incorrectly that "Father Blasius Rodericus sive Blasius de Monte" were killed by the Indians in 1595. Archives prove that the martyrdom took place in 1597 and not in 1595 and that Blasius Rodericus and Blasius de Monte are two distinct persons. Brook's *Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine* publishes a letter of Father Blasius de Monte, written by him at St. Augustine, Florida, February 25, 1600, three years after his reputed death.

tember 13, 1597,²⁵ at Santa Catalina and Father Verascola at Asao suffered the same fate as that of Father Pedro de Corpa. Father Francisco Davilla at Ospo was wounded with arrows, seized and dragged into captivity and endured incredible sufferings that were worse than death. Father Jerome de Ore in his *Relations of Martyrs of Florida* which was written in the seventeenth century and which has been republished by Father Athanasio Lopez in 1931, gives us a vivid description of these heroes of the Cross, of their sufferings and their glorious martyrdom. Most pathetic is De Ore's minute recital of the untold cruelties to which Father Francisco Davilla was subjected during his captivity.²⁶

After the massacre of 1597 Governor Canzo sailed north with one hundred and fifty soldiers to punish the Indian offenders. In terror the Indians fled to the thickets but Governor Canzo destroyed their towns and cornfields. This harsh punishment had its effect and the Guale Indians with their chiefs renewed their Spanish allegiance and were granted pardon. Now the restoration of the missions followed and once more the Georgia forests echoed the gladsome tones of the mission bells. Father Juan de Capilla took charge of San Pedro; Father Pedro Delgado ministered at Talaxe and Espogache, and Father Pedro Ruiz, at Santa Catalina. What these men of God accomplished in less than one year is revealed from the report that the Bishop of Cuba confirmed 1070 neophytes in 1606 in the four Georgia missions.

On March 14, 1599 the Franciscan monastery at St. Augustine was destroyed by fire and the friars sought shelter in the Hermitage of Nuestra Señora de Soledad until a new monastery was built for them by the Spanish Crown. At this time the Franciscan missions of Florida were united into a Custody.

Regarding the date of the erection of the Custody of Santa Elena of Florida, many errors have been published. Abad y Lassierra²⁷ says that the erection of the custody took place in the year 1603. Father Holzapfel²⁸ affirms that it was in the year 1609 confounding the amplification with the erection of the custody. Father Athanasio Lopez²⁹ claims that the Florida missions had been formed into a custody several years before 1609. It was

²⁵ Lemmen, Dr. Leonard, O.F.M., *Geschichte der Franciskaner Missionen*, Münster, 1929, 319.

²⁶ De Ore, *op. cit.*, 97.

²⁷ *Cronologia hist. leg.*, tom. I, 517, 526.

²⁸ Holzapfel, *Manuale hist. Ord. Min.*, 352. Shea, *op. cit.*, 158.

²⁹ De Ore, *op. cit.*, 51.

at the General chapter of Toledo in 1606 that the eleven convents of Florida, Cuba and Bayamo were merged into one "very good and honorable custody," by Commissary General Father Bernardo de Salva by patent, of November 18, 1609.³⁰

Father Peter Ruiz as Custos of the newly merged custody, had jurisdiction over the monasteries of La Concepcion, St. Augustine, of San Salvador, Havana, Cuba; of Santiago de Cuba; of San Francisco Bayamo, of San Pedro (Cumberland Island) San Juan de Puerto (Florida); San Bonaventura de Gualalquini (Georgia); of San Domingo de Asao (Georgia); of Santa Auna de Potano (Georgia) and of San Antonio Guadulce (Florida). Two novitiates were established, one at St. Augustine, Florida and the other in Havana, Cuba.³¹ In the year 1612 the Custody was elevated to the Province of Santa Elena with Father John de Capilla as first Provincial.³²

Of great spiritual benefit to early Florida missions was the first Episcopal visitation of Florida by Most Reverend Juan Cabezos de Altamirano, O.P., Bishop of Cuba. He gave Holy Orders on March 25, 1606 at St. Augustine and confirmed 1070 converts.^{33a} Of equal importance to missions was the canonical visitation of the "gran teologo," Father Louis Jerome de Ore, O.F.M., Commissary and delegate of the Bishop of Cuba on November 3, 1616. After he had completed the visitation and interviewed the friars, he asked each friar to take the discipline before disciplining the visitor with their trials and crosses. Father De Ore then proceeded to elect the new Father Provincial. The election was held on December 18, 1616 at the monastery of San Bonaventura (Georgia) ^{33b} because it was more centrally located than St. Augustine and because there, more fish and food could be secured for the visiting friars.

The friars, inspired by the Holy Spirit, elected as Provincial,

³⁰ *Annales Minorum* (Edit. Anconae) XXIV, 274, No. XXVIII gives the complete list of missions of the Custody. Geiger Maynard, O.F.M., *The Early Franciscans in Florida*, Paterson, N. J., 1936.

³¹ De Ore, *op. cit.*, 50.

³² Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XXV, 8.

^{33a} V. A. O'Daniel in *Catholic Historical Review*, Jan., 1917, 442-459, reprints and translates the original document of the visitation of Bishop Altamirano, O.P., from Archives of the Indies, A.G.I., I, 54-3-1. Simancas, Eccl., Audiencia de San Domingo. Mary Ross in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 1926, 171-199, gives us an excellent report and description of this episcopal visitation.

^{33b} De Ore, *op. cit.*, 122.

the learned and popular Father Francisco Paroja, who had spent over sixteen years in Florida and who had been custos in 1608. Father Paroja has the distinction of having edited the first books in the Timucuan language. He published two catechisms, a confessorio, a grammar, a prayer book and treatises on hell, heaven, purgatory and the rosary—all in the Timucuan tongue.³⁴

At this period (July 10, 1605), a very interesting meeting was held in the city of San Augustine with Governor Ibarra presiding. He introduced the Indian chiefs of Aiz, Sorruque, Oribia and Capazaco³⁵ to the Franciscans Pedro Vermejo and Gerónimo de Ore. With the zeal of an Apostle St. Paul and the love of a St. Francis, they preached to the Indians on the reward of heaven and the pains of hell. The visiting chiefs were deeply moved by the eloquent words of Father de Ore and said they were willing to have their hair cut on the morrow and embrace Christianity. Father Ore soon convinced them that it was not necessary to submit to the clerical tonsure in order to become Christians.³⁶ At this conference the foundation was laid for the future flourishing missions south of St. Augustine near New Smyrna, Florida.

In the seventeenth century the Florida missions attained their greatest development. After the restoration of the Guale (Georgia) missions, destroyed in the uprising of 1597, the labor of converting the savages proceeded with but occasional interruptions. In 1608 there was another rebellion in Guale, fomented and led by five chieftains of that province, but apparently it was of small consequence, as there was no further mention of it in the official correspondence. According to Governor Ibarra, 4,000 Indians were converted and 1,000 more were being instructed by the missionaries during the years 1606 and 1607.³⁷ The church at San Pedro on Cumberland Island was as large as that at St. Augustine.³⁸ It had been constructed by the natives and represented a value of 2,000 ducats.

³⁴ De Ore, *op. cit.*, Appendices, 45-48. Father Lopez gives the entire list of Father Paroja's works with many valuable criticisms in his appendices to De Ore. *Archivo Ibero Americano*, T. I, 55-63.

³⁵ *Archivo de Indias*, Patronato Sig. 1-1-1-19.

³⁶ De Ore, *op. cit.*, 47.

³⁷ *Georgia Historical Society*, March, 1932, 18.

³⁸ Ross, Mary, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions" in *Georgia Historical Review*, Sept., 1926, 181.

About 1612, twenty-four Franciscan missionaries³⁹ arrived in Florida with Father Gerónimo de Ore, followed soon after in 1615 by twenty more.⁴⁰ The majority of these missionaries established themselves among the Indians of Guale, both on the coast and the interior. By 1615 there were more than twenty Franciscan houses in the principal Indian towns of Florida, which included Georgia and South Carolina. Even before this time missions had been established in the province of Potano, in the southeastern interior of the present state of Georgia, the missionaries traveling through the swamps to reach their charges, where, in less than two years in 1606 and 1607, they won more than a thousand converts.⁴¹

The missions in Santa Elena, South Carolina, like those of Guale, had a checkered existence. Indian hostility, or the constant fear of it, made life uncomfortable, even hazardous, for the missionaries. In a letter composed by the Florida friars in 1617 it was stated that Santa Elena had no mission at that time. However, by 1633 the mission at San Marcos (the old San Felipe on Port Royal Sound, South Carolina) had been restored, and in addition, a number of Franciscans were at Satuache, South Carolina, probably near the mouth of the Edisto River.

In 1633 Father Juan de Capilla, the Guardian of the convent at St. Augustine went with one assistant to Apalache.⁴² The Apalache Indians, a tribe of the Creek confederacy, lived in what is now western Florida and southwestern Georgia.

Conversion of the Apalache Within two years this active and zealous missionary estimated the number of his converts at five thousand.⁴³ At this time, the governor estimated that there were 30,000 Christian Indians connected with forty-four missions of Florida. The widespread fear lest the English from Virginia, who were becoming active in the back country trade, seek to occupy the interior, led to the establishment of a garrison at San Luis in Apalache.

Regardless of the precautions of the officials and the early successes of the Franciscans in Apalache, a revolt broke out in

³⁹ Bolton, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁴⁰ Barcia, *Ensayo cronologico par le hist. Florida*, 1512-1722, 181-183.

⁴¹ Lanning, *op. cit.*, 165.

⁴² Juan de Solinas to the King, November 24, 1609, A.G.I., Sec. V, A.S.D., leg. 226.

⁴³ Shea, *op. cit.*, 163.

1638, but the insurgents were defeated by a force commanded by the governor. The Indians in the vicinity of St. Augustine had likewise grown restive and, as a punishment, were condemned, with many of the Apalache Indians to forced labor on the fortifications at the capital at St. Augustine, Florida.

The defeated Apalaches were soon to seek the assistance of their recent enemies. Their old foes, the Apalachicolas from the junction of the Chattahoochee and the Flint now began a series of forays into Apalache. When in 1639 appeals sent to the governor were unavailing the cacique went to St. Augustine and sought baptism. Upon his return to Apalache he was accompanied by a missionary, who, with the help of Governor Castro y Pardo, was soon able to establish peace between the Apalaches and their enemies. Immediately additional Franciscans hastened to Apalache and within a short time were claiming a thousand conversions.⁴⁴

Never before nor afterwards was mission development so successful as during the period of 1650 to 1675.⁴⁵ There were at this time thirty-five missions scattered over the provinces of Florida, and serving 26,000 Christian Indians. There is extant a list of the missions of 1655, which may be accepted as a sort of index to the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Franciscans.⁴⁶

A short distance north of St. Augustine was the mission of Nombre de Dios. Three leagues north of the Capital was Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, the refuge of the former inhabitants of Tolomato in Guale, who had been driven from their northern home after the uprising of 1597. San Juan del Puerto was probably on Amelia Island. This mission was visited in 1697 by Jonathan Dickinson, a ship-wrecked English sailor, who described it as "a large populous town, with friars and chapel, the people industrious, with abundance of hogs, poultry, and corn."⁴⁷ Near the mouth of the St. Mary's River was the important mission of Santa Maria, the ruins of which may still be seen a few miles from

⁴⁴ Lanning, *op. cit.*, 167. Serrano y Sauz, *op. cit.*, 198.

⁴⁵ Johnson, J. G., "Spanish Southeast in the Seventeenth Century," *Georgia Historical Review*, March, 1932, 23.

⁴⁶ Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, gives a complete list of the missions. Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., Bulletin 73, y. 1922, 322.

⁴⁷ Described in Jonathan Dickenson, *God's Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defense* (Philadelphia, 1699). Vide Shea, *op. cit.*, 164.



St. Marys near Brunswick, Georgia. This mission was likewise the site of a school for Indian boys. Still farther north were San Pedro Macamo on Cumberland Island, San Buenaventura de Guadalquini, on Jekyl Island, and Santiago de Ocone, thirty leagues from St. Augustine, and probably also on Jekyl Island. Then came Santo Domingo de Talaje on or near St. Simons, San Josef de Zapala on Sapelo, and Santa Catarina de Guale on St. Catharine's Island. Near Santa Elena, South Carolina, were San Felipe or San Marcos and Chatuache, "la ultima por costa del norte."⁴⁸ During this period there were ten missions in Apalache, and three between that province and St. Augustine. Those of Apalache were San Lorenzo, La Concepcion, San Francisco, San Juan, San Josef, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Cosme y San Damian, San Luis, San Martin, and Coaba (en la cordillera de Apalache).

In 1656 the Indians of Apalache and Timucua, immediately to the east of Apalache, raised another revolt against the Spaniards.

Governor Robelleto maintained that it was caused by **Indian** the Franciscans, but the friars contended that the **Revolts** position was directed against the Governor because of his efforts to compel the natives to carry corn on their backs to the capital.

With the settlement of Charleston, South Carolina, by the English in 1670 the dreaded encroachment materialized. In 1680 the coast Indians allied themselves with the Carolinians and, according to the St. Augustine authorities, investigated by them, began a series of attacks on the missions and presidios on the Georgia coast.

From a letter of Father Juan Luengo (September 22, 1676) we learn that in the year 1676 there were eight monasteries in the Florida district from which forty-three missions were attended. He further stated that there were some very active missions among the Chacotos, the Chines and Pacata Indians. He complained that there were hardly thirty missionaries at this time in Florida, and humbly begged the Spanish Crown to send twenty-two Franciscan missionaries and three servants to the Florida missions.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Bolton, *op. cit.*, 21. Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 418, states that in the year 1680 there were in Florida eleven houses with 90 Franciscans and in the year 1600, eighteen houses with 99 friars.

⁴⁹ Father Juan Luengo to King Charles II requesting more missionaries for Florida. Letter dated September 22, 1676, *Archivo Ibero Americano*, T. I

From old letters we gathered that fifteen to twenty new missionaries arrived every three years in Florida.⁵⁰ In the same records we also find that there were in the year 1680 in the Guale district seven missions: Our Lady of Guadalupe, San Juan, **Seven** San Philip, San Bonaventura, San Domingo, San **Missions** Joseph and Santa Catalina.⁵¹ In the Timucuan territory there were thirteen missions: Nombre de Dios, **of Guale** San Diego, San Salvador, San Antonio, San Francisco, San Thomas, Santa Catalina, Santa Cruz, San Juan, San Pedro, Santa Elena, San Matheo and San Miguel.⁵² Fourteen flourishing missions were located in the Apalache region: San Lorenzo, Purissima Maria, San Juan, San Joseph, San Pedro and San Paulo, San Antonio, San Cosmas and San Damian, San Carlos, San Luis, Nuestra Senora de la Caudelaria, San Pedro, San Martin and San Pedro de Alcantara.⁵³ (Tallahassee district north and south.)

(1914), 366-368. From this letter of 1676 it would seem that Father Holzapfel has been misinformed when he records that four years later (1680) there were 90 Franciscans in the Florida missions. Vide Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 418.

⁵⁰ *Archivo Ibero Americano*, XXVIII, 64-69.

⁵¹

PROVINCIA DE GUALE Y MOCAMO

1. Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Tolomato.
2. Senor San Juan del Puerto.
3. Senor San Felipe de Athuluteca (given in 1643 as San Pedro Atuluteca).
4. Senor San Buenaventura de Guadalquini.
5. Senor Santo Domingo de Assaho.
6. Senor San Joseph de Capala (Salepo).
7. Senora Santa Catalina De Guale.

⁵²

PROVINCIA DE TIMUCUA

1. Nombre de Dios de Amacarissee (St. Augustine).
2. Senor San Diego de Ecalamototo.
3. Senor Salvador de Maiava, conversion nueva.
4. Senor San Antonio de Anacape, conversion nueva.
5. Senor San Francisco de Potano.
6. Senor Santo Thomas de Santa Fee.
7. Senora Santa Catalina de Ahoica.
8. Santa Cruz de Tharihica.
9. Senor San Juan de Guacara.
10. Senor San Pedro de Pothohiriva.
11. Senor Santa Helena de Machava.
12. Senor San Matheo de Tolapatafi.
13. Senor San Miguel de Assile.

⁵³

PROVINCIA DE APALACHE

1. Senor San Lorenzo de Ybithachucu.
2. Nuestra Senora de La Purissima Concepcion de ayubali.

In 1690 Father Rodrigo de la Barrera secured twenty-seven Franciscans for the missions of Florida.⁵⁴ These missionaries labored chiefly south of St. Augustine in the missions of San Salvador de Mayaco, San Joseph de Jororo, La Concepcion and San Antonio de Anacapi.⁵⁵ We read of four hundred converts made in 1693 at these missions.⁵⁶ The celebrated Father Feliciano Lopez brought over in 1695 from Spain twenty-two more Franciscans. Six of these were sent to the Carlos Indians near Key West Florida,⁵⁷ and eight to the Jororo district.⁵⁸

In October, 1696 a rebellion broke out among the Jororo Indians and Father Luis Sanchez, O.F.M., was murdered in the mission of San Joseph near the present city of New Smyrna, Florida.⁵⁹ Of all the Florida mission ruins, St. Joseph de Jororo is the best preserved and is at this time marked by a bronze tablet⁶⁰ which reads:

THIS MISSION

Built for the Jororo Indians
By Spanish Franciscan Friars
About the year 1696, is
Preserved as a memorial of

-
3. Senor San Francisco de Oconi.
 4. Senor San Joan de Ospalaga.
 5. Senor San Joseph de Ocuia.
 6. Senores San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali.
 7. Senor San Antonio de Bacuqua.
 8. Senores San Cosme y San Damian de Yecambi.
 9. Senor San Carlos de los Chacatos, conversion nueva.
 10. Senor San Luis de Talimai.
 11. Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama, conversion nueva.
 12. Senor San Pedro de los Chines, conversion nueva.
 13. Senor San Martin de Tomoli.
 14. Santa Cruz y San Pedro de Alcantara de Ychutafun.

The mission list for the year 1765 gives ten missions for Guala, seventeen missions for Timucua and ten missions for Apalachee. Swanton, *op. cit.*, 322.

⁵⁴ Serrano y Sauz, *Documentos Hist. de la Florida y la Louisiana*, Madrid, 1912, 208. Lanning, *op. cit.*, 171, 174.

⁵⁵ The ruins of this mission are still in existence south of St. Augustine on the road to Daytona Beach, Florida.

⁵⁶ Shea, *op. cit.*, 456. Lopez, *op. cit.*, "Despondent letter of Father Felician, September 21, 1692."

⁵⁷ The companions of Father Felician Lopez were Fathers Ferdinand Samos, Michael Carrillo, Francis of Jesus and the lay brother Francis of San Diego, Shea, *op. cit.*, 457.

⁵⁸ Shea, *op. cit.*, 339.

⁵⁹ Lanning, *op. cit.*, 224; Swanton, *op. cit.*, 339.

⁶⁰ "Bronze Tablet at Old Mission Unveiled Today," *New Smyrna Daily News*, Feb. 20, 1926.

The forty-four missions of
 Spanish Florida
 To commemorate
 The service and heroism
 Of the Franciscan Fathers
 In the Ancient Florida Missions
 This tablet is placed here by
 The Florida State Historical Society
 The Florida Daughters of the
 American Revolution
 Washington Everett Connor
 Jeannette Thurber Connor

1926

The Franciscans all during their apostolic work in Florida were often handicapped by the civil authorities, who thought more of power and gold than of souls. The ruptures were often fomented by lack of prudence on the part of some of the missionaries and selfishness and littleness on the part of the governor and his staff. Thus we read in 1698 of Governor Quirogo, coming late to Mass on Sunday at the time of the Gloria and complaining to the missionary for not awaiting the arrival of the Governor, for whom it was the custom to wait. This momentous breach of etiquette, was brought to the highest tribunal in Spain.⁶¹

The English of Carolina were now becoming more aggressive, the sea threatened to wash away the fortifications
English at St. Augustine, and the French were encroaching
Hospitality upon West Florida. For a time the Spanish government seriously considered abandoning St. Augustine, and transferring the inhabitants to Pensacola to stay the French.⁶²

Hostility between Florida and Carolina was also augmented by the favors shown to pirates by the English colonists.⁶³ "These public robbers, instead of being tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship—Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, ensured to them a kind reception among the Carolinians, who opened their ports to them freely and furnished them with necessities."⁶⁴ When the

⁶¹ Quirogo to the King, Sept. 29, 1698, A.G.I., Sec. V, A.S.E., leg. 229, No. 28.

⁶² Barcia, *Ensayo chrolonogico*, 299, 301.

⁶³ Johnson, A. M., "Spanish Period of Georgia and South Carolina from 1566-1702," *Bulletin of the University of Georgia*, XXIII, May, 1923, No. 9, 22.

⁶⁴ Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, New York, 1836, I, 86.

Spaniards attempted to retaliate the Carolinians prepared to carry the war into Florida by attacking St. Augustine.

During the War of Spanish Succession, Governor Moore of South Carolina and Colonel Robert Daniel invaded Florida.⁶⁵ Colonel Daniel entered St. Augustine by land via Pilatka, whereas Governor Moore attacked the city from the sea.

On his way to St. Augustine, Colonel Daniel destroyed the surviving Franciscan Missions and settlements along the Georgia coast. He and Moore then plundered St. Augustine and beseiged

A Scathing San Marco (Fort Marion) which was successfully defended for fifty days by Governor Zuniga. Dis-
Indictment appointed because they could not capture the fort they set fire to the oldest city of the United States and destroyed the church, library and monastery of the Franciscans at St. Augustine, October 22, 1702.⁶⁶ A Protestant clergyman, Reverend Edward Marston, writing to Reverend Dr. Bray of Charlestown, South Carolina says:

To show what friends some of them are to learning and books, when they were at St. Augustine, they burned the convent library worth about six hundred pounds sterling and a valuable collection of Greek and Latin Fathers; the Holy Bible itself did not escape destruction because it was written in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived by order of Colonel Robert Daniel.⁶⁷

At his own expense Governor Moore got together at Okmulgee in December, 1703 an army of fifty whites and one thousand Creek Indians. On January 14, 1704 he fell upon Ayubale, "the strongest fort in Apalache." For nine hours Father Angelo de Miranda, O.F.M., and his neophytes put up a vigorous defense. "I never see or hear of a stouter or braver thing done than the storming of the fort," wrote Governor Moore. The next day he was attacked by Captain Ruiz Mexia, commander of San Luis (Tallahassee).⁶⁸ Mexia had assembled fifty mounted soldiers and

⁶⁵ Barcia in his *Ensayo Chronologica*, 318-327, gives a good account of the events in Florida during the War of Spanish Succession.

⁶⁶ Florida Historical Society, Jan., 1929, 223; Shea, *op. cit.*, 480; Bloomfield, Max, *Illustrated Historical Guide*, St. Augustine, Florida, 1885, 21 and 26; Fairbanks, George R., *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, Horace Drew Press, Jacksonville, Florida, 1881, 101.

⁶⁷ *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, I, 11-12.

⁶⁸ For Moore's Campaign against Apalache see Crane Verner, W., *Southern Frontier*, Durham, South Carolina, 1928, 75-78, 249-251; Fairbanks, George, *History of St. Augustine*, 70; Coulter, Merton E., *History of Georgia*, Chapel Hill Press, North Carolina, 1933, 10. For Moore's campaign against Apalache,

four hundred Indians; in his company was the devoted Franciscan missionary, Father Juan de Parga, who exhorted them to fight and remained with his men to the bitter end.⁶⁹ The Spaniards were routed and Father Angelo de Miranda, Father Juan de Parga, Father Marco Delgado and Father Manuel de Mondoza were cruelly martyred under the very eyes of the English. After this victory Moore was unable to restrain his savage allies, who subjected a number of his prisoners to the most cruel tortures by burning them at the stake.

The invaders thereafter marched through Apalache, taking one fortified village after another, until the rich province of Apalache with its flourishing Franciscan missions was almost completely destroyed.⁷⁰ Five towns surrendered unconditionally and Cacique of Ybithachuco compounded for peace by offering the church plate, vestments and provisions. Herbert Bolton says, "In 1704, no longer governor, Moore with a thousand Creek allies, destroyed Ayubale and the twelve Apalache Franciscan mission towns and carried off one thousand four hundred prisoners. The murder of the Franciscan Fathers Parga and Miranda is one of the disgraces of American border warfare."⁷¹

With renewed faith and hope the Franciscans resumed their missions of charity and soon three Yamassee missions were re-established in 1726 and one of these (San Diego) had a monastery and church; then we find at this time Santa Catalina, San Jose and Guadalupe missions among the Ygusa nation; Nombre de Dios, Santa Fe, San Luis, San Antonio de Caspulla, San Antonio

see also Crane, *American History Review*, XXIV, 386-387; Moore, "An account of what the army did under command of Colonel Moore, in his expedition last winter, against the Spaniards and Spanish Indians." Letter from the said Colonel Moore to the Governor of Carolina. Printed in the *Boston News*, May 1, 1704. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II, 574-576; Zuniga to the King, March 30, 1704. Swanton, J. R., *Early History of the Creek Indians* (133-134); Letter of Bienville to his home government (printed in Swanton, *ibid.*, 123); "Statements made in the Introduction to the Report on General Oglethorpe's Expedition to St. Augustine." (Carroll, *Hist. Coll.*, II, 352-353); Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 461-462; Rivers, *Sketch*, 207-209. Spanish Papers, MSS. Library of Congress, VI, 892-6.

⁶⁹ Shea, *op. cit.*, I, 461; Engelhardt, in *Franciscan Herald*, II; *American Ecclesiastical Review*, December, 1923, 627.

⁷⁰ Crane, *Southern Frontier*, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1929, 81; Swanton, *op. cit.*, 322, 339; Colonial Office N.A.C., General 7 and C. O. 382; Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, British Museum, MSS., A II, No. 156.

⁷¹ Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, 346 m. 57.

de Costa and the new conversions among the Macapira and Praya Nation. Near St. Marks two friars established the mission of N. S. de Soledad, while Father Manuel de Hoaliso took charge of the new mission on Santa Rosa Island.⁷²

A most important event for the Church in Florida was the appointment of Most Reverend Francis of St. Bonaventura, Martinez de Texeda Diez de Valasco, O.F.M., as auxiliary bishop of Santiago de Cuba. He had been professor of philosophy and Guardian of the Recollect Franciscans at Seville. After his consecration he crossed over to Florida and made three visitations in 1735, 1742 and 1745. He resided for ten years in St. Augustine having accomplished untold good in Florida by his kind and prudent administration.⁷³

The province of the Franciscans, known as "Santa Elena de la Florida," was disturbed about this time by national rivalries, the religious born in Spain and those born in America forming two parties. The Provincial elections held at the chapters brought out these rivalries. The election held in 1745 was declared by the higher authorities to be null, and a Provincial was named by the Commissary General of the Indies.⁷⁴

Money was sent, at this time, from Spain to rebuild the ruined Franciscan monastery at St. Augustine; but official dishonesty prevailed and the money was misapplied. Nothing was done except to run up a rude chapel with four stone walls and a palmetto roof, while frail huts sheltered the surviving missionaries. Later Apalachian Indians and convicts of Mexico who were employed in the construction of the fortress of San Marco (fort Marion), rebuilt the Franciscan monastery at St. Augustine. Both buildings were completed during the administration of Don Alonso Fernandez de Huerra who was appointed governor in the year 1755.⁷⁵ By the treaty of 1763 Florida was ceded to England

⁷² Shea, *op. cit.*, 466.

⁷³ He published a "Relacion Ave Maria," which has great historic value. Ave Maria! Relacion que hace el Ilus. Senor D. Fray Francisco de San Buena-ventura, Recolecto de la Orden de N. P. S. Francisco, Obispo de Nicopoli, auxiliar del Ilus. Senor Obispo de Cuba, residente en S. Agustin de la Florida, et Joseph Ortigoza, residente en Sevilla, de lo sucedido con Diego Obgleto, General ingles, en la ciudad de la Florida en el ano de 1740. En Sevilla, por D. Florencio Joseph de Blas Y Guesada, impressor mayor de dicha ciudad—Vide, Cicezza Marcellino, *Saggio di Bibliographica*, 534.

⁷⁴ Shea, *op. cit.*, I, 472.

⁷⁵ Fairbanks, George, *History of Old St. Augustine*, 83.

by Spain. All of the friars and most of the Spaniards, about 5,000, left for Spain or Cuba.⁷⁶ To protect the Church property from being seized by the British Don Juan Eligeo de la Puente acting for the Spanish government conveyed to John Gordon, an English Catholic, the bishop's house for one thousand dollars, the Franciscan monastery for \$1,500.00, the church Nuestra Senora de la Leche for \$300.00.⁷⁷ The English Government, however, ignored all these agreements. The bishop's house was given to the Church of England. The Franciscan monastery was turned over to the British troops, because "the monastery well had the best drinking water in the territory."⁷⁸

In 1767 an association headed by Dr. Andrew Turnbull was formed in England, and obtained grants to the lands at Mosquito Inlet, near New Smyrna, Florida.⁷⁹ Here he proposed to establish extensive plantations of sugar and indigo. Fourteen **New** hundred Minorcans, Italians and Greeks were brought **Colonists** over to Florida by Turnbull. Reverend Dr. Peter Camps, and Father Barthalomew Casas Novas, a Franciscan Minor Conventual from the convent of Torro in Minorca accompanied these immigrants to New Smyrna, Florida.⁸⁰ Both of these priests did apostolic work among the Minorcans from 1768 to 1790. Father Peter Camps died May 18, 1790 and was succeeded by Father Narcissus Font, O.M.Conv., a Conventual Franciscan, a native of Catalonia. "He closed his short but edifying career by a pious death on January 13, 1793."⁸¹

By the treaty of 1783 St. Augustine, Florida, was returned to Spain. The Franciscans of the Province of St. Elena had not been indifferent to the recovery of Florida and on July 3, 1784 they petitioned the Spanish Crown for permission to return to

⁷⁶ Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, 85; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 240.

⁷⁷ Reports of Don Jose del Rosario Natte in Report of Solicitor of the Treasury, January 27, 1847 (Senate, 27-30), "The case of Mr. John Gordon with respect to the title to certain lands in East Florida, purchased of His Catholic Majesty's subject by him and Mr. Jessie Fish," London, 1772.

⁷⁸ Shea, *op. cit.*, II, 90.

⁷⁹ Doggett Carita, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, Drew Press, Jacksonville, Florida, 1919, 97-99; Dewhurst, Wm., *History of St. Augustine, Florida*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1886, 113; Fairbanks, George R., *History of Florida*, Drew Company, Jacksonville, Florida, 149.

⁸⁰ Brooks, A. M., *Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine*, 192, 193, 302, 306, 223; Shea, *Life and Times of Bishop Carroll*, 92 and 193; *The Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas*, P. J. Kenedy, New York, 1908, I, 65.

⁸¹ The death records of St. Pedro de Mosquito Parish, New Smyrna, Florida, from 1769-1835, preserved at St. Augustine, Florida.

St. Augustine and resume their labors for the conversion of the Indians. The matter was considered by the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba and the King of Spain and the Council of the Indies but Governor Zepedes deemed it inopportune to introduce the Franciscans again until the country became more populated by Spanish immigrants.⁸²

The last Franciscans according to the Catholic Encyclopedia left Florida in 1795. On July 10, 1821, Florida became the territory of the United States. The Franciscan monastery at St. Augustine, Florida, undergoing many changes during its occupancy by British, Spanish and American troops became known as "St. Francis Barracks."⁸³ Once the home of the soldiers of St. Francis it is perhaps the only religious structure ever taken over and used continuously by the United States for military purposes.

This concludes our brief survey of the Franciscan missions in the Southeast. Hundreds of friars labored here in more than fifty missions of the Southland from 1527 to 1763. The "Franciscan Via Dolorosa" extended from the mother house at the monastery of Mary Immaculate, St. Augustine, Florida north along the Florida and Georgia coast to Parris Island, South Carolina. To the south along the Atlantic coast and St. John's River the sandaled friars progressed as far as (Matacumbe) Key West, Florida. From St. Augustine west along the highway to Tallahassee and Pensacola in every direction, there was a veritable litany of missions. Great was the zeal of the Franciscans, edifying were their lives of sacrificing and glorious were their deaths, either at the hands of the savage, or of hunger, or pestilence or old age. No monument, save at New Smyrna, marks the spot, where these heroes of the cross were laid to rest after their work for the "Red Cross of Christ" was ended. But let us hope and trust that our nation, sometime after it has achieved leisure and

⁸² Petition of Father Francis Roderio Capote, July 3, 1784; The King to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, April 9, 1786; Letter of Zepedes, Sept. 1, 1786; Shea, *op. cit.*, II, 555-7.

⁸³ Reynolds, C. B., *The Standard Guide to St. Augustine, Florida*, 1890, 71; Cosgrove, E. R., *St. Augustine, the Mother city of America*, 9; Reynolds, C. B., *Old St. Augustine*, 1885, 84; Clavreul, Very Reverend, H. P., *Notes on the Catholic Church in Florida*, St. Leo, Fla., Abbey Press, 43; Mohr, Abbot Charles, O.S.B., "St. Francis Barracks, Florida," *Historical Review*, Jan., 1929, 214.



MISSION OF SAN JOSÉ (New Smyrna).



ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS, 1935.

Formerly site of Convent of Mary Immaculate, St. Augustine, Florida.
Part of convent wall still standing. Present building erected on original
foundations.

the graces that come with it, will at least place a "White Cross" in memory of those friars who first brought tidings of peace and goodwill to the shores of our glorious country in the Southland.

DISCUSSION

FR. JOHN WUEST, O.F.M.:—A point of interest in the history of Florida that has more than local moment is the question: Was the Franciscan Juan Xuárez (Juárez, Suárez) the first bishop of Florida and, therefore, the first Ordinary of any territory within the present limits of the United States?

An Interesting Question

Fr. Juan Xuárez, one of the twelve Franciscans sent to Mexico in 1524 by the Minister General of the Order, Francisco Quiñones, was chosen to accompany the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez, who was sent in 1527 to found a Spanish colony in Florida. According to some authors Xuárez was appointed bishop of Florida and of Río de las Palmas (now Pánuco, Mexico) by the Spanish king in order to give the settlement a proper organization in ecclesiastical matters.

It may be stated immediately that there are no contemporary sources, so far come to light, that testify to this appointment.

Such authorities as Gams, *Series Episcoporum* and Morelli, *Fasti Novi Orbis et Ordinationum Apostolicarum* (Venetiis, 1776), are entirely silent about the alleged nomination. The lack of contemporary evidence led John

Negative Authorities

Gilmary Shea, from a reserved acceptance of the statement regarding the episcopal character of Xuárez at first,¹ to brand the story as a "silly fable,"² and then later to moderate his remarks somewhat, but still styling it "utterly unfounded."³ Shea's arguments, it must be admitted, are

not without weight. A very recent historian, Atanasio López, O.F.M., in the introduction to his edition of Gerónimo de Oré's *Relación histórica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1931, 9), is also inclined to doubt the episcopal appointment of Xuárez, giving as his reason the silence of Cabeza de Vaca, also a member of the expedition of Narváez to Florida and who, in his *Relación*, continually gives Xuárez merely the title of *Comissario*.

It was the late Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., who wielded the pen against Shea in defence of Xuárez.⁴ The main argument is an intrinsic one. When the Spaniards planned to found a new colony, they attended most care-

Affirming Authorities

fully to the details of civil government and appointed in advance the officials for the projected colony. Considering the close union between Church and State at that time, it is almost impossible to conceive that the Spanish crown would have omitted to care for the ecclesiastical organization of the territory to be colonized. And in the expedition of Narvaez to Florida we have reasons to believe that Fr. Juan Xuárez was appointed bishop of the

¹ Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*, New York, 1854, 40.

² *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, IV, 1879, 138 f.

³ Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days . . . 1521-1763*, New York, 1886, 111, n. 1.

⁴ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 1st ed., San Francisco, 1908, 604-606; 2nd ed., Santa Barbara, 1929, 722-724.

regions to be settled, a right that the Catholic Kings enjoyed by Papal privilege.

We have, in the first place, the testimony of Antonio de Herrera who, in his *Historia General*, tom. II, decada 4, lib. II, cap. IV, published at Madrid in 1601, says explicitly: "Xuárez fué presentado para Obispo de aquel distrito." Sixty years later Francis Harold, O.F.M., in his *Epitome Annalium Waddingi* (Romae, 1662), writes (ad. a. 1527, n. 1): "Other Franciscans also were sent to the peninsula of Yucatan. These religious were earnestly commissioned by the emperor to see that the laws of God and his own were observed by the governors of the provinces. . . . But the same commission was given to the Franciscan Bishop-Elect and to the four friars who sailed with Pánfilo de Narváez, the governor of the province of Florida and Rio de las Palmas." And in n. 5 Harold continues: "Since the ministers of the Gospel gathered so many sheep into the fold of Christ, lest they be destitute of shepherds, several were selected from the same Family of Observants: for the diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan á Zumárraga; for the diocese of Darien, Fr. Martin de Béjar was sent; to the See of the Province in Florida, Fr. Juan Xuárez, who were likewise strictly charged to make peace among the quarreling governors and to remedy the worst grievances of the Indians." (Trans. substantially that of Engelhardt.) Finally, Barcia (Don Gabriel de Cárdenas y Cano) in his *Ensayo Cronológico*, Década Segunda, Año MDXXVII (Madrid, 1723, 9), repeats the testimony of Herrera.

The most important of these three witnesses is, of course, Harold. He it is who mentions the important circumstance that Xuárez was named Bishop of Florida about the same time that Fr. Juan á Zumárraga received the appointment of first bishop of Mexico. In those days of slow communication years often passed before the Papal bulls confirming the nomination by the Spanish crown arrived, as was the case with Bishop Zumárraga who was not consecrated until April 27, 1533, six years after his appointment. That we have no documents for the consecration of Xuárez is then easily explained. Xuárez did not receive episcopal consecration, for he perished in 1528 from hunger and exposure on the unfortunate expedition of Narváez to Florida in the neighborhood of Matagorda Bay, Texas.

We have grounds, therefore, to hold that Juan Xuárez was Bishop-Elect of Florida, appointed by the Spanish crown, which, as Shea admits,⁵ would entitle him to enjoy episcopal authority.

FR. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.:—Spanish Florida and the Franciscans who labored there for nearly two hundred years have been long neglected by historians. But the vast collection of Spanish documents in the hands of American scholars is at last revealing the heroic efforts of our Franciscan forbears. To what Fr. Diomedes has so well said I should like to add that the first hospital in what is now United States' territory was erected in St. Augustine shortly before 1598, and that when the friary burned in 1599, the hospital, known as the Hermitage of Our Lady of Solitude, became the temporary home of the friars. St. Augustine was also the first city in the present United States where a Franciscan novitiate was opened. Again, when the Franciscan Province of Santa Elena was established in 1612, this was the first Franciscan Province in what is now our country. In 1616 the first Pro-

⁵ Shea, as in n. 3.

vincial Chapter was held at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini in Georgia, and it is interesting to note that the friars travelled to and from the Chapter by canoe. In 1606 when Bishop Altamirano came to Florida and Georgia he was the first to administer Confirmation and Orders in our national territory.

The most authoritative and complete book on Franciscan activity in Spanish Florida is Lanning's *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*. It is heavily documented and is sympathetic in tone. Doctor Bolton and Miss Ross of Berkeley, Doctor Robertson of Maryland and Mrs. Connor, lately deceased, have contributed in large measure toward making better known the glories of Franciscanism in our Southeast. The present writer through the coöperation of the *Franciscan Studies* has been enabled to publish *The Martyrs of*

Florida, a translation with critical notes of the account of Franciscan pioneering and suffering, written by Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré, O.F.M., early in the seventeenth century. Early in 1937, a dissertation on *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618*, will have been finishing under the direction of Dr. Steck, O.F.M., of the Catholic University.

FR. CONSTANT KLEIN, O.M.C.:—Studying the mission system of the Franciscan Padres, we cannot fail to admire their accomplishments. After a fatiguing journey over cactus-covered prairies, over rivers, canyons and hills, through rain and blistering heat, the missionaries in coarse grey habits at length arrive at the place destined for the mission. The spot selected is near a river, high enough to escape the floods and sufficiently guarded against the winds.

Building the Mission

A cross is set up, bells are mounted and rung, and the peal is heard by the neighboring Indians who come to meet the Spaniards and bid them welcome. Indian and White man gather timber and within a few days huts are built for missionaries, soldiers and attendants. In the meantime the missionaries, by kindness emphasized by the giving of food, clothing and trinkets, induce the Indians to settle near the mission. Soon a church is built, and houses for the natives, workshops and granaries begin to cluster about the patio. In later years these primitive huts will be replaced by stone structures the ruins of which we see today.

Under the patient care and direction of the Padres and their Indian workers, the countryside about the mission soon blossoms into a veritable garden. A clumsy piece of timber equipped with an iron point and drawn by a team of oxen serves as a plow. Stone dams are built and extensive

Mission Farms and Ranches

sive irrigation ditches bring water to make grow the planted grain and vegetables. When the season is good, corn, wheat, barley, squashes, cotton and chile beans yield an abundant harvest. The ripe grain is cut and cast into small circular corrals where it is threshed by the tread of oxen and then stored in granaries to be ground into flour on the metate by Indian women. There are also crudely constructed watermills to grind wheat into flour. Some distance away is the ranch, pasturing hundreds of head of cattle, horses, sheep and goats. We are told that in 1745 the San Antonio Mission of Texas counted among the stock nearly 5,000 head of cattle, 12,000 sheep and goats, and about 1,600 horses. Wine-yielding grapes cover the farm fences, and large orchards comprise an unending variety of fruit trees. As Byron says: "A better farmer ne'er brushed dew from lawn."

We visit the workshops and again find the Padre directing and working amid his Indian charges. Indian carpenters build the carretas, the plows,

and all the mission furniture; blacksmiths design and execute the iron grills, iron kettles, basins and other utensils. Stone-men carve the beautiful façades that adorn the mission fronts and windows. Blankets, shawls and clothing are woven by the Indian women working at looms and spindles. Workers in clay produce pottery, and from the hides of cow and buffalo the tanner makes the famous buckskin. Thus, under the direction of the Padres, the Indian not only learnt the first and supreme lesson of faith, but he also learnt to ply a useful trade whereby his economic needs were supplied and the one-time savage was trained for civilized life.

NEW FRANCE, I

THE FRIARS MINOR IN FRENCH AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

Fr. HUGOLIN LEMAY, O.F.M., F.R.S.C.

It is not my intention to relate the history of the Friars Minor (Recollects)* in New France and British Canada. Such a sketch from my pen would be only a repetition of matter already published and would leave the reader with nothing new. But since the aim of this Conference is to promote studies, I deem it more advisable to present just brief sketches on the different aspects of Recollect history and then to mention the works already published, indicating at the same time the gaps that must be filled out by future historians. Thus we shall know how far our studies on the Recollects have progressed, and from that point may start our advance to the unknown. First of all, therefore, we shall study the sources or archives for the history of the Recollects, and then conclude with a summary sketch of the history of the Friars Minor in Canada since their return in 1890. Here, then, are the points which this paper will treat:

- I. Archive Sources.
- II. Recollect Authors.
- III. General History of the Recollects in Canada.
- IV. Period from 1615-1629.
- V. Period from 1670-1850.
- VI. Convents and Communities.
- VII. Parishes and Missions.
- VIII. Louisiana.
- IX. Acadia.

* Franciscan friars who, aiming at stricter observance, sought retirement in houses of recollection. While never absolutely autonomous, the Holy See in 1601 permitted them an Apostolic Commissary. In 1897 they lost their separate existence and were aggregated to the Friars Minor of the Observance. Cf. Holzapfel, Dr. Heribert, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909, 348-353.

- X. Ile Royale (Cape Breton).
- XI. Gaspesia and Neighboring Places.
- XII. Newfoundland.
- XIII. Recollect Missionary Chaplains.
- XIV. Biographies.
- XV. Third Centenary of the Faith, 1915-1916.
- XVI. Friars Minor since 1890.

I. ARCHIVE SOURCES

Here as elsewhere in this paper only a summary can be given. We must remember, first of all, that the Recollect Mission in New France was a commissariat dependent on the Province of St.

Paris Denis, Paris, and that all documents pertaining to its administration since its foundation in 1615 were preserved in the Provincial archives at Paris. But we know what happened to convents, libraries and archives at the time of the French Revolution. All that was not burnt or stolen passed into the hands of the State. Of the documents pertaining to the Canadian Mission we know merely of those classified in the archives of the departmental prefecture of Saine-et-Oise, at Versailles in the series H, Recollects. The inventory with the reproduction of the greater part of the papers, has been published as appendix to the *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, attributed to the Recollect Sixte Le Tac, edited by M. Eug. Réveillaud at Paris, Fischbacher, 1888. The appendix runs from page 173-262, and the papers date from 1618-1713.

The collection of Versailles, France, is the only one, at least to my knowledge, dealing with the Recollects of Canada. But there are many other documents concerning them in numerous State collections and in others as well, e. g., in the manuscript section of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. It would take too long to give even a list of these collections. **Versailles** However, in reference to this subject one may consult M. J. Edmond Roy, *Rapport sur les archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada* (Publications des Archives du Canada, no. 6), Ottawa, 1911, IV, 1093, 8vo. The introduction to this *Rapport* deals with the historical data regarding the formation of the French archives, and enumerates the collections and manuscripts which are of particular interest to Canada. There is a mass of documents,

including the general correspondence of the French authorities with New France, concerning Canada. But among these are to be found a great many documents and letters relating to our Recollects. For quite a while the Canadian government has been engaged in transcribing and analysing the documents in Paris in order to complete the archives of Canada. The pack already transcribed or analysed is considerable and it is made public chiefly by means of the annual reports of the Dominion Archivist, but above all, by the appended Reports since about 1874. These publications and especially the copies of the Federal collection carefully indexed and still continued are most important sources for the history of the Recollects. It is not necessary to remark that among the French collections at Paris just as in other parts of France there still remains a great quantity of documents to be investigated and to which it will be necessary to have recourse for many years. We may remark here that the Canadian archives are made up principally of copies, but there are both for the French and the English periods a large quantity of originals some of which concern the Recollects.

We must say as much for the archives of the Province of Quebec (the essential part of former New France), at present preserved at least for the greater part in the Provincial Museum at Quebec, under the competent direction of Mr. Pierre-Quebec Georges Roy. Each year since 1921, Mr. Roy publishes an annual *Rapport* and also a series of archive papers. The *Rapports* and other publications are essentially documentary. Several documents either concern or are of interest for the history of the Recollects. But the documents published until now form a very small percentage of what is preserved there, and even more so than at the Federal archives, direct and personal research is necessary at the Provincial Museum. This is unfortunately very difficult owing to insufficient indices and to strictness of the rules.

The archives of the Bishop's house and those of the Seminary at Quebec; likewise the episcopal archives and Seminary archives (parish of Notre Dame) at Montreal; the civil records, especially those of Quebec, Montreal and Trois-Rivières, containing the records of notaries, are very valuable for the history of the Recollects. Nor may we overlook the State registers and those of the church committees (Fabrique) of old parishes administered by

Recollect priests and missionaries. These are valuable for Recollect history.

But let us now consider the archives of the Recollect Commissariat at Quebec. On September 6, 1796, the convent burned and probably all documents perished in the flames. At least no trace of them has been found. We also fear that all documents of the convent of Trois-Rivières which had been transferred to the Quebec convent when the Recollects left Trois-Rivières in 1776, were also lost in that fire. The fate of the Recollect archives of Montreal is also unknown. On September 14, 1796, the Bishop of Quebec in virtue of powers from Rome secularized the Recollects who had made profession since 1784. Thus only a few remained and they were permitted to dwell in the convent of Montreal the only convent left. Those who availed themselves of this permission were not to be affected by the decree as long as they remained in this convent. Recollects inhabited this convent for a few years, hence there is reason to believe that at least some documents must have remained in the archives until the death of the last Recollect, Father Louis Demers, in 1813. What happened to the archives ? Here and there in other collections we sometimes find documents that from their very nature seem to have belonged to the Recollect convent at Montreal, but the fate of the bulk is unknown.

In our Provincial archives (St. Joseph's Convent, Montreal) there is a rich collection of documents relating to the old Recollects. These documents are either copies or photographs of others preserved in archives named above. Father Odoric Jouve, now in Paris, is especially responsible for collecting and copying these many documents. It is most important that this undertaking continue for our archives have already rendered valuable service to research students of Recollect history. As for Father Odoric, besides possessing copies of the documents in our archives at Montreal, he also has copies of numerous other documents found in France. Therefore, he has the best collection of documents relating to the old Recollects of Canada and he is without doubt the best authority on this subject.

Other documentary sources may be found in certain publications other than those of Ottawa and Quebec, e. g., in H. HARRISSE,

Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle France . . . 1545-1570, Paris, 1872, 8vo., xxx, 367 pages. Of the **Other** documents enumerated, 48 concern the Recollects of **Sources** Canada, namely, 24 printed memoirs or books, and 24 MSS. Then, there are the following: The collection of the *Mandements* etc., of the Bishops of Quebec, 1887 seq.; Margery, *Memoirs et documents* etc. (6 vols.); in vols. I-III, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1614-1696). Two manuscript works must by no means be overlooked, namely, the *Mortuologe* of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denis, and the *Nécrologe* of the same Province. Our Provincial archives at Montreal have copies of them.¹

II. RECOLLECT WRITERS

Since the works published by the Recollects deal with their mission of New France and consequently form part of the sources of this history, it is fitting to treat them immediately after the archive sources. The writer has catalogued these works in his *Notes bibliographiques pour servir à l'histoire des Récollets du Canada. I Les écrits imprimés laissés par les Récollets*. Montreal, 1932, 52, 8vo. This list does not include the writings of Father Louis Hennepin whose writings will constitute a separate bibliography soon to be published. As for Sagard, Christien Le Clercq, Emmanuel Crespel, included in the above-named list, the writer has since begun a new and separate bibliography of each to which he has appended a list of writings treating of these authors. These works are still in manuscript but in the interest of completeness I mention them here.

Regarding the *Notes bibliographiques* of the present writer, they must be supplemented by his recent study: *L'Oeuvre manuscrite et imprimée de la Mission du Canada* (Province de Saint-Denis), 1615-1629, published in the *France Franciscaine* (Paris),

¹ On these two copies cf. Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (hereafter *A. F. H.*), XXVII, 1935, 363. Also by the same, *Notes Bibliographiques*, II, Le P. Nicholas Viel, Montreal, 1932, 11. The original of the *Mortuologe* is in the archives of the Quebec Seminary. Our copy was transcribed by the archivist himself, Mgr. Amédée Gosselin. The original of the *Nécrologe* is in the Bib. Nat. of Paris. A printed edition of the *Nécrologe* is also preserved there. (*Table Générale* etc.) Perhaps the Bib. Nat. has the only copy. The writer inquired for it in 1935, but it could not be found.

Oct.-Dec., 1935. This last study completes and corrects for the period of 1615-1629, the corresponding part of the *Notes bibliographiques* . . . I.

A summary analysis of my unpublished *bibliographiques* on Sagard, Le Clercq, Hennepin and Crespel, will be useful in attaining the purpose of this paper.

Gabriel Théodat Sagard, lay brother missionary among the Hurons from 1623-1624, returned to France and published his *Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* in 1632 (2 vols.), and his *Histoire du Canada* (in reality a history of the Recollets in Canada), in 1636 (4 vols.); also a *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne*, Paris, 1632. These works, now very rare, have been published anew in 1865-1866, in beautiful print by H. E. Chevalier, Paris, Tross, in 6 volumes, 8vo. Concerning Sagard, the first historian of Canada, the reader should consult Fr. Odoric Jouve, *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, I (1615-1629), Québec, 1916, *passim*; H. E. Chevalier's introduction to the Tross edition of the *Histoire du Canada* by Sagard, LXIV, L'abbé H. A. Scott, *Que faut-il penser de l'historien du Canada, le frère Gabriel Sagard, Récollet?* in the *Almanach de saint Francois*, Montreal, 1924, 40-44; Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1913, 12mo., 115-21 (new edition, 1934, Paris, Droz). These last pages are very interesting. In *Nova Francia*, I, Paris, 1926, April, 212-213, are documents hitherto unpublished and they treat on Sagard's passing from the Recollets to the Cordeliers of Paris (1636-1638). This is perhaps the explanation for the absence of Sagard's name in the list of *scriptores* of the Saint-Denis Province (48-54) in the work of Fr. Placide Gallemant, *Provincia St. Dionysii* . . . Catalauni apud H. Geoffray, 1649 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). Sagard, on the other hand, is named among the writers of the Province in the work of Fr. Hyacinth Lefebvre, *Histoire chronol. de la Province de St.-Denis*, Paris, 1677.

MSS. of Fr. Christian Le Clercq: Father Le Clercq, who was a missionary in Canada from 1675 to 1686, is well known for his two works: *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie* . . . , Paris, 1691, 12vo., and *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France* . . . , Paris, 1691, 2 vols., 12mo. The latter work, very rare, has been translated into

English by J. G. Shea: *First Establishment of the Faith* . . . , New York, 1881, 2 vols., 8vo., ill., and the *Nouvelle Relation*, English translation with notes and original French text, by Mr. W. F. Ganong, *New Relation of Gaspesia* . . . , in the collection of texts of *The Champlain Society*, Toronto, 1910, XV, 452, 8vo., with facsimiles, maps, etc.

Some have pretended that the *Premier Etablissement de la Foy* had been suppressed shortly after its appearance. In *A. F. H.*, XXVII (1934), 311-313, I essay to prove the contrary. Besides the *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, the reader may also consult the following concerning Father Le Clercq's life and works: J. G. Shea, *A Sketch of Father Christian Le Clercq and the Works That Bear His Name*, in the *First establishment of the Faith*, 5-36; Victor Paltsists, *Bibliographical Description of the "Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie,"* 42-46, in Mr. Ganong's English edition of this work (cf. *supra*), and especially, Mr. Ganong's introduction, 2-41; Abbé H. A. Scott, *Au berceau de notre histoire*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1922, 41 ff., an essay reprinted by Mr. Scott in his book *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, Lévis, 1930, 8vo., 27-43; H. Harris, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1872. Under Le Clercq, the author discusses the authenticity and historical value of the *Premier Etablissement*.

Concerning Fr. Louis Hennepin, the writer has already published, his *Notes Bibliographiques* . . . IV. *Bibliographie des bibliographies du Père Louis Hennepin*, Montreal, 1933, 32 8vo.

Here it will suffice to note the best of the

Louis Hennepin Bibliographies to date, namely, that of Victor Hugo Paltsists, in Ruben Gold Thwaites' edition of *A New Discovery of Fr. Hennepin; The Works of Father Hennepin. A Catalogue of the collection brought together by Peter A. Porter of Niagara Falls*, New York, 1910, 13, 8vo. This collection in the Museum of the Buffalo Historical Society,² together with that of the John Carter Brown Library, at the University of Providence, R. I., is the most complete in the world. Neither of them, however, comprise the very rare *Morale Pratique du Jansénisme* . . . by Fr. Hennepin (Utrecht, 1698).

To the hundred or more of *bibliographical* works, catalogued in

² See [Frank H. Severance] *The Peter A. Porter collection*, Vol. 29 of the *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, Buffalo, N. Y., 1927, 321-330.

the *Notes bibliographiques* . . . IV . . . should be added Fr. Hugolin Lemay's more recent study, which appeared in the *Neerlandia Seraphica* (Holland), January number 1935, [400]-[404], and is entitled *Holland het litteraire vaderland van den Rekollekt Lodewijk Hennepin* (Holland, the fostering mother of Father Hennepin's works). Herein the Author enumerates the editions of Hennepin's books published in Holland. Of a total of 43 complete editions of Hennepin's four works, published from 1683 until to-day, twenty-four were printed in Holland, that is 3/5 of all the editions that have appeared throughout the whole world.

Soon, *Deo favente*, will be published the complete bibliography of Fr. Hennepin, of which the *Bibliographie des bibliographies* is but an extract. It is well known that this Recollect is the author of four works, three of which have been printed in numerous editions and abridged in six languages. The following are the abridged titles of the original editions: *Description de la Louisiane* . . . Paris, 1683 [XIV], 2-312, and [I]—107, for the *Moeurs des Sauvages*; *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique* . . . Utrecht, 1697 [LXXII], 506; *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe* . . . Utrecht, 1698 [LXX], 389; *La Morale pratique du Jansénisme ou Appel comme d'abus* . . . Utrecht, 1698, XVI, 207. Of this last work only six copies are known, of which one only is in America, at Montreal (Bibl. Municipale). I have nevertheless a photostat copy made in 1935 from one of the three copies found in the Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Emm., in Rome.

The part of the bibliography, devoted to the works of Fr. Hennepin, reproduces in facsimiles (with the exception of the modern editions) the title pages of all the editions (40) of his books, as well as their summaries, résumés or extracts (about 25). Some of these résumés before 1720 are so rare that scarcely one or two copies of each are known. In fact, there are two, of which not even one original copy seems to remain (Evreux and Paris, 1720).

The part of the Bibliography devoted to works on Fr. Hennepin (books, pamphlets, but especially articles and passages from books) enumerates, comments and annotates several hundred titles. It would be too lengthy to note here even the most important of these works. They can be seen in the *A. F. H.*, 1935, 9-10. At present the writer is preparing a study on the sojourn of Fr. Hen-

nepin at Utrecht and at Rome (1696-1701), according to the documents which he has recently discovered in Europe, especially in the royal archives of La Haye.

Of Fr. Emmanuel Crespel, commissary of the Recollects in Canada, we have, in letter form, his *Voyages . . . et son naufrage en revenant en France*, Francfort-on-Meyn, 1742, 158, 8vo. In the bibliography on this Recollect the author describes 16 editions—French, English, German, **Emmanuel Crespel** Flemish—of this work. Concerning Fr. Crespel, it is necessary to consult especially the biography with which l'abbé Bois, under the initials of S. J. M., has prefaced the *Voyages* (I-XLI), Québec edition, 1884; the biography of Fr. Crespel by Fr. Odoric Jouve, published in the *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (Montréal), from 1905 to 1907; that of Fr. John Berchmans Boes, O.F.M., *An der Pforte des Todes. Leben des Indianer-Missionärs P. Emmanuel Crespel, O.F.M.*, Mit 15 ill., Trier, 1913, 158, 12 mo. (XVIIIth Vol. of the collection *Aus allen Zonen . . .*, then published under the direction of Fr. Patricius Schlager, O.F.M., at Trèves).

Fr. Hyacinth Lefebvre, several times Provincial of the St. Denis Recollects, never came to Canada, but he published a fairly important work, the consultation of which is necessary for writing the history of the Canadian Mission: *Histoire chronologique de la province des Récollets de Paris sous le titre de Saint Denys en France, depuis 1612 qu'elle fut érigée jusqu'en l'année 1676*, Paris, Denys Thiery, 1677 (XVI), 172, 8vo. The copy in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris contains two printed additions which continue this *Histoire* until 1688; they were written by Fr. Chas. Rapine. The writer has a photostate copy of *l'Hist. chron.* and of its *Additions*.

III. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE RECOLLECTS

Four French provinces of Recollects sent missionaries to Canada. The Province of the Immaculate Conception in Aquitaine, sent missionaries to Acadia from 1619 to at least 1669. To Newfoundland, then a French possession, and to St. Peter's Island, came the Recollects of St. Denis in 1689. In 1701 they were replaced by those of Brittany. After the treaty of Ryswick-Utrecht (1697, 1713), which ceded Newfoundland to England, the latter were obliged to make their abode on Ile Royale (Cape Bre-

ton), which France began to fortify after the surrender of Newfoundland. On Ile Royale both the Fathers of Brittany and the Recollects of St. Denis remained from 1713 to 1731, when the latter withdrew, giving their missions to the Recollects of Brittany. These Fathers remained alone on all of Ile Royale, including Louisbourg, until the taking of this fortress by the English in 1759 and even for a short time thereafter. Finally the Province of St. Anthony in Artois sent Recollects to Canada in 1676. For a few years these were dependent on the Provincial of St. Denis. It was these Recollects who accompanied La Salle on his expeditions to the West and on the Mississippi.

The St. Denis Province, however, had the largest share in the missions and parochial ministry of New France. Like the Recollects of Brittany they were at Newfoundland (under the French rule) and at the Ile Royale. To Acadia, it is true, **Province of** they came later than the Recollects of the Immacu-
St. Denis late Conception, but their activities were more extensive and lasted, if we include the northern posts of the maritime province (Baie des Chaleurs, etc.) until the close of the eighteenth century. The ministry of the St. Denis Recollects, inaugurated at Quebec in 1615, interrupted in 1629 by the conquest of Quebec, began anew in 1670 and ceased only with the death of the last Recollect in 1849. In short, we may say that the Recollects of St. Denis were the Franciscan Apostles of Canada for more than two centuries.

For the ensemble of the history of the Recollects in North America, the reader should consult, besides the bibliographical writings already indicated, the *Tableau Littéraire des Récollets du Canada* by Fr. Hugolin Lemay.³ To this must be added the *Bibliographie des Travaux édités ou imprimés en Europe sur les Récollets du Canada*, published by the same author in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada of 1933, section I, 87-109.⁴ These will be completed with the general bibliography of the Recollects in Canada to be published by the same author. The latter work excludes the bibliographies of Sagard, Le Clercq, Hennepin, Crespel, Viel and Didace Pelletier which are treated separately. Yet in spite of these lengthy omissions, the work comprises several hundred titles and notes dealing with our Recollects.

³ *Archivum F. Hist.*, XVII (1934), [353]-386.

⁴ Published also as a separate booklet: no. V of the series of the *Notes bibliographiques pour servir à l'Histoire des Récollets du Canada*.

As may be supposed, all the general histories of Canada at least mention the Recollects. The *L'Eglise du Canada* by Mgr. Auguste-H. Gosselin, 1890-1917, 8 vols., 8vo.,⁵ since it is a church history, has much more to say concerning the Recollects. The same is true of the works of Fr. C. de Rochemonteix, S.J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIème siècle*, Paris, 1895-6, 3 vols., 8vo., and *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIème siècle*, Paris, 1906, 2 vols., 8vo.

Besides these works, there are also the three biographical dictionaries of the Canadian Clergy: [abbé Noiseux], *Liste chronologique* etc., Québec, 1834, 52, 8vo.; Mgr. Cyprien Tanguay, *Répertoire général du Clergé canadien*, Québec, 1868, XXIX, 321, 8vo. (reëdited at Montreal in 1893, XIII, 536, XLVI, 8vo.); Canon J-B-A. Allaire, *Dictionnaire biographique du Clergé canadien . . . Les Anciens*, Montréal, 1910, 543, 8vo. The *Liste* of abbé Noiseux, as incomplete as it is faulty, lists 156 Recollects. Though more developed, the works of Mgr. Tanguay and Canon Allaire are scarcely more correct. Nevertheless, references are to be made to them until the publication of the monumental bibliographical repertory of the Recollects in Canada (about 250 names of Recollect priests and 200 of lay-brothers and tertiaries serving the religious) which has occupied Fr. Odoric Jouve for the last thirty years.

Articles treating the Recollects of Canada are indeed few. The following are to be mentioned: S. Lesage, *Les Récollets du Canada*, in the *Revue canadienne*, Montréal (1867), April; [anon], *Les Récollets au Canada*, 1915, 15, 8vo.; and especially Fr. Odoric Jouve, *Les Franciscains* [= Récollets] *et le Canada. Aperçu historique*, a series of articles published simultaneously in the *Vie Franciscaine* (Paris), 1931, and in the *Revue Franciscaine* (Montréal), 1931-32. As may be seen, the *general history* of the Recollects in Canada still remains to be written.

IV. WORKS ON THE PERIOD DATING FROM 1615 TO 1629

Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 when he brought there the first colonists. Humble were the beginnings of this New France

⁵ Including, by the same author, *La mission du Canada avant Mgr. de Laval* (1615-1659), Evreux, 1909, devoted mostly to the Recollects, and *Vie de Mgr. de Laval*, Québec, 1890, 2 vols., 8vo.

which was one day to stretch from Hudson Bay to Mexico, from the St. Lawrence Gulf to the Rocky Mountains and farther south to the Mississippi. Champlain **Coming of the** and sought missionaries for the new colony and for **Recollects** evangelizing the Indians, and he found them in the Recollects of the Province of St. Denis. These Recollects arrived at Quebec in 1615, and established the first missions among the Montagnais, the Algonquins and in greater number among the Hurons. Among these valiant and saintly missionaries we must mention the names of Denis Jamet, Jean Dolbeau, Joseph Le Caron, De la Roche Daillon, George Le Baillif; and the lay-brothers, Gabriel Théodat Sagard and Pacifique Duplessis.

In 1629, the Kirks having taken Quebec, the colonists together with the Recollects were repatriated. These latter were unable to return to Canada before 1670.

Works are not lacking on the period known as the heroic age of Recollect history in New France and among the Indians. The history of the Recollects is intimately connected with that of Champlain, "the Father of the Colony," as he is called; and with him the Recollects contributed their share towards the defense of the colony. It is not surprising, then, to see that the activity of the missionaries receives generous space in the *Works* of Champlain. In fact, Champlain narrates their history. In a modern work, *Samuel Champlain*, by N. E. Dionne, Quebec, 1906, the history of the Recollects covers pages 1 to 245 of Volume II. Br. Sagard also relates this history in detail in his *Grand Voyage* . . . and in his *Histoire du Canada*.⁶

With Sagard the principal sources to be consulted on the period 1615 to 1629 are Le Clercq, and the *Histoire Chronologique* attributed to Sixte Le Tac. The writings indicated by Fr. Hugo

⁶ Sagard, p. xix (*Au Lecteur*), of his *Histoire du Canada* declares his intention of publishing a supplementary volume to this work, but he never realized his project. This volume was to be made up of documents respecting the establishment of the Recollects and their Missions in Canada, as well as of dictionaries, by the Recollects, of the "canadaise," Algonquin and Huron languages. These dictionaries (and some of the documents concerning the foundation) have not come down to us. We know also that Sagard had written his diary on his journey from Dieppe to Quebec and from Quebec to the land of the Hurons, and that he lost it in the village of the Nipissirians (*Grand Voyage*, I, 74). On his return to France he continued to take interest in the Canadian Mission, and presented the Duke of Montmerency, Viceroy of New France, with *Memoirs* against the Huguenots of the Colony (*Ibid.*, III, 861). These *Memoirs* are unknown, if not lost.

lin Lemay in the *Oeuvre ms. et imprimée* etc. quoted above, may also be consulted.

Principal Sources The main work, however, devoted entirely to this epoch, is that of Father Odoric Jouve, O.F.M., *Les Franciscains et le Canada, L'Etablissement de la Foi*, 1615-1629, Quebec, 1915, XVIII, 506, 8vo., ill. h. t. There are many others either of less importance or more restricted in their scope. (Cf. *A. F. H.*, 1934 [365]-[367]. Among the works here enumerated some are of considerable importance.)

It is to this period of missionary heroism that Father Nicholas Viel, apostle of the Hurons, and first martyr of New France, belongs. Regarding Father Viel consult Father Hugolin Lemay's, *Notes bibliographiques, II, Le P. Nicolas Viel*, Québec-Montréal, 1932, XXVIII [38], 8vo. Therein the author (pp. vii-xxviii) attempts to establish the precise place where Father Viel was martyred and thrown into the Rivière-des-Prairies, near Montreal, June 25, 1625; he points out 95 works, articles, extracts (to which must be added about ten more found since 1932) which consider Father Viel the protomartyr of Canada (I-38).

V. PERIOD OF 1670-1850

Canada was restored to France in 1632. From 1632 to 1669 the Recollects of the Province of St. Denis could not, in spite of repeated attempts, obtain permission to return to Canada.⁷ Father Joseph du Tremblay, private counsellor of Richelieu, wished to entrust the Recollect mission to his confrères, the Capuchins; but failing in this he had it given to the Jesuits, who took upon themselves the Huron Missions and became their sole administrators.

Finally, to the great joy of the inhabitants,⁸ the Recollects returned to Canada in 1670, under Mgr. de Laval and the Bishop addressed them a most cordial letter of welcome.⁹

Return of the Recollects The Recollects established themselves first at Quebec, then at Trois-Rivières and at Montreal. They also had residences at other places, notably at Percé and at Detroit. The Bishops confided to them the adminis-

⁷ Cf. the *Memoire* of the Recollects of 1637 and the beginning of 1684. Margry, T. I, 1-33.

⁸ Jesuits, *Relations* of, 1670.

⁹ Latin original in the Arch. dép. of Seine-et-Oise, Versailles Série H, Recollects.

tration of many parishes and missionary posts. They were, as in France, the military chaplains of the troops and the forts. Besides, they had the care of Indian Missions, especially in Acadia, in the region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and in the Bay of Chaleurs. They were explorers with La Salle. They worked incessantly to spread the Third Order. In 1796 they were secularized by the Bishop of Quebec, recruitment having become practically impossible under the English regime.

From a general point of view, the history of the Recollects between 1670 and 1850 has been the object of special study by Father Marcellino da Civezza, author of *Storia . . . delle Missioni francescane*, VIII-XI, Firenze, 1895, 1-54.¹⁰

True, we have monographs treating some particular phases of Recollect activity during this period, as can be seen from the bibliographies already quoted and which remain to be quoted. To a great extent they supplant the absence of a general history which remains to be written. Long and patient research in all our archives must still be made, but it is encouraging to know that a comparison between our present state and that of forty years ago reveals decided progress and allows us to conclude that the day is not far off when a real history of the Recollects from 1670-1850 can be written.

During this period at least one friar distinguished himself by his sanctity. This was the lay brother Didacus Pelletier (1657-1699), the "bon frère Didace," as he is called by the Canadian people. The published writings concerning him are so numerous that the writer could devote to this lay brother Series III of his *Notes bibliographiques*, III, *Le Frère Didace Pelletier*, Québec, 1932, 23, 8vo. For the principal works listed in this inventory let the reader refer to the *Tableau littéraire*, by Father Hugolin (*A. F. H.*, XXVII, 1934, 4-5). The principal work is undoubtedly the *Vie du Frère Didace Pelletier*, by Father Odoric Jouve, O.F.M., Québec, 1910, 458, 12mo., ill. Other valuable sources, both in print and in manuscript, are also indicated in the *Tableau littéraire*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, parte II, Prato, 1891. Father Marcellino had devoted chapters V and VI (315-438) to the Recollect Mission during the period 1615-1629. Chronologically, Father Marcellino is the first to write a history of that period.

VI. CONVENTS AND COMMUNITIES

The Recollects had convents at Quebec, Trois-Rivières and at Montreal. At Quebec they had simultaneously or successively between 1615 and 1796 five houses, two of which were *hospitia*.

In 1796, the convent of Saint Anthony, where they **Convents** had dwelt since 1692, was destroyed by fire. At **Confiscated** Trois-Rivières they had successively three houses from 1678 to 1776, the year when they left this city where they had been parish priests between the years 1670 to 1683, and 1693 to 1776. Their convent and conventual church has passed over to the English Crown and since 1823 are used by the Anglicans as church and presbytery. At Montreal the Recollects built their only convent in 1692. After the conquest, the convent passed to the Crown, though the friars continued to live in it. In 1867 both convent and church were demolished to make room for commercial buildings.

It would unduly lengthen this paper to note even briefly the history of these different houses or to even mention all the writings that treat of them. A summary of this bibliography may be found in the *Tableau Littéraire* of Father Hugolin, *A. F. H.*, 1934 [371]-[376].

VII. PARISHES AND MISSIONS

At the end of the seventeenth century, and especially at the beginning of the eighteenth, the Recollects were parish priests or missionaries in Canada and more particularly in what is now the Province of Quebec and the Maritime provinces, as well as in Detroit. As such they kept the civil registers which together with the church records (*fabriques*) are still the principal sources for history. Father Hugolin has analyzed three of these registers in his *Registres paroissiaux de Rimouski, des Trois-Pistoles et de L'Île Verte, tenus par les Récollets* [1701-1769], in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, May and June, 1912 (special edition, 24, 8vo. I can not even enumerate here the number of parishes where the Recollects were pastors or missionaries. The names of those parishes and of their pastors can be found in the *Canada Ecclésiastique* (Montreal), especially in the edition of 1918, wherein the editor has drawn up with great care the list of the first missionaries and parish priests of all the parishes still existing.

Even these sources, indispensable as they are, do not give a complete record of the ministry of the Recollects. Recourse must also be had to the detailed accounts in our Provincial archives at Montreal. It is not necessary to remark that the numer-

Important Sources ous parochial monographs must also be consulted. Of great importance is the recent work of Father Odoric Jouve, *Les Franciscains et le Canada. Aux Trois-Rivières*, Paris, 1934, X, 340, 8vo., Ill. and maps. The author not only writes the history of the Recollects at Trois-Rivières (convent and Parish) but also gives a general view of their parochial ministry in the Trifluvian districts on either side of the St. Lawrence. The volume also contains valuable notes and sketches of 130 Recollects who worked in Trois-Rivières.

Among the number of parishes administered by the Recollects there is that of Detroit, at the west point of the French Colony. It was in 1701 that the French first founded there a military post. Both fort and parish from the beginning and until 1782 were confided to the Recollects. The history of the latter has been written by Richard R. Elliot in: *The Recollects of Detroit during nearly all the Eighteenth Century*, and in *Two Centuries of Catholicity in Detroit*.¹¹ Mention must also be made of Father Constantin de Lhalle¹² and Father Simple Bocquet, both of Detroit.

Anyone intending to write on the parishes of the Recollects will derive great profit from the article by Father Ivanhoe Caron: "Les monographies, leur rôle, leur caractère," in *La Semaine d'Histoire du Canada, Ière Session*, Montreal, 1926, 252-272. The author sets forth two detailed plans for parochial histories of the French régime.

If, for lack of space, I am not permitted to relate more concerning the parochial ministry of the Recollects, let me quote the Governor of Canada, M. de Callières, who writing to the Minister of Colonial Affairs, November 4, 1702, says: "No
Testimony of the Governor one could be more exact than the Recollects have always been in administering the most ungrateful, the most abandoned and poorest parishes. I am witness, that in their convent, there remain none but invalids, and aged religious, or young ones that have not yet been approved for

¹¹ *American Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, XXIII (1898), 759-778, and *ibid.*, XXVI (1901), 499-523.

¹² Cf. *Bul. des Recherches hist.*, Jan., 1934, 43.

preaching and hearing confessions." (*Arch. du Canada, CA., XX, f. 87.*)

VIII. LOUISIANA

The history of the Recollects in Louisiana is almost entirely negative, in this sense that after the era of the La Salle expedition in which the Recollects took a very active part (1679-1689) none of their missionaries can be traced in the lower Mississippi until 1720. Five Recollects, all of whom are well known, were associated with the expeditions of La Salle: Gabriel de la Ribourde, Zénobe Membré, Anastase Douay, Maxime Le Clercq and Louis Hennepin. The aim of the St. Denis Province since the very beginning was to found missions in the explored territories, and we may suppose that the crosses on the map of Father Hennepin indicate the places where the missions could be advantageously established.

As a matter of fact, at the time of the third expedition of La Salle, Father Hyacinthe Lefebvre, Provincial of the St. Denis Province, had been appointed by Rome (Jan. 8, 1685) Prefect of the "Isle of Louisiane," for seven years.

We know the disastrous results of La Salle's last expedition, which averted the attention of the French from Louisiana until 1698. It was during this year that d'Iberville led an expedition for the colonization and it had as chaplain Father Anastase Douay, former companion of La Salle. In 1699 the Provincial requested from Rome the patent letters of Prefect Apostolic for Father Douay. Whether or not these were granted is still in doubt.

Indeed, the Bishop of Quebec, who, according to the Bulls, had jurisdiction over Louisiana, was formally opposed to the attempts made for many years by the Religious Orders to establish themselves in Louisiana. Rome and the Court of France did not deem it necessary to use their supreme authority against the clearly manifested will of the Bishop. It was only in 1720 that the spiritual care of Louisiana was entrusted to Religious Orders, and the vast territory was divided among them, but always under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec.

In 1720, therefore, for the first time since 1689, we find a Recollect in Louisiana and he belongs to the Province of St. Denis. In 1720, Father Prothais Boyer signs the eleven first acts

of the civil registers of New Orleans, where he was the first missionary and acting pastor.¹³ Were there, or had there been other Recollects in Louisiana? I do not know.¹⁴

For practical purposes one may consult on the Recollects in Louisiana, Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Père Marquette, A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion*, New York, Wagner, 1934, XVI, 302, 8vo., maps and illustrations (Franciscan Studies no. 13); Claude L. Vogel, O.M.Cap., *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, New York, Wagner, 1928, XXVI, 202, 8vo. (Franciscan Studies no. 8); and for a good study of the explorations of the Mississippi, the work of Father Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., *The Joliette-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincey, Ill., 1928 (first edition in 1927), XIV, 334, 8vo.

Besides these it would be very profitable to consult the excellent bibliographies of the sources and printed matter which enrich these three works and which are quite sufficient for the object that interests us at present, namely, the Recollects on the Mississippi and in Louisiana. Perhaps it would also be profitable to consult the study of the present writer on the book of Father Habig, in the *A. F. H.*, XXVII (1934), 302-313.

IX. ACADIA (NOVA SCOTIA)

I have already remarked that two Provinces of Recollects had missionaries in Acadia, first, those of the Province of the Immaculate Conception in Aquitaine, then those of St. Denis. Practically all that is known about the first years of the Mission of the Recollects of Aquitaine is published by Father Hugolin in *Les Récollets de la Province de l'Immaculée Conception en Aquitaine, missionnaires en Acadie, 1619-1633*, a study published in the *Bul. des Recherches Historiques*, 1912, March, 65-79. But I was mistaken when I said that the Recollects of Aquitaine ended their Acadian Mission in 1633. In reality we still find there the names of a few Friars Minor as late as 1671, v. g., Father Francis Du-

¹³ Tanguay, *Répertoire général du Clergé canadien*, Montréal, 1893, 94, mentions this Recollect (whom he calls Bouyer and in the *Index*, Bouger). He must have arrived in the Canadian Mission in 1717, for his signature is found in the Registers of Quebec on August 11, 1717.

¹⁴ Cf. Second discussion appended to this paper.

long, and in 1669, Father Laurent Molin. The latter rebuilt the church of Port-Royal (Annapolis) destroyed by the English, and in 1671 he took up the census of Acadia. But it is not certain that the latter was a Recollect.

On November 29, 1703, Bishop de Saint-Valier writes to the Minister that he has omitted nothing to have a religious community established in Arcadia in order to have missionaries to convert the Indians and to administer the sacraments to the faithful; he has found only the Recollects who were willing to take up the task.¹⁵ Here he is speaking of the Recollects of Saint Denis.

In Acadia, at the Mines, at Beaubassin, at the Rivière St-Jean, since 1680 and even before, we meet Father Claude Moireau. The Recollects continued to exercise their ministry in Acadia during the greater part of the eighteenth century; they were the supporters of the Acadians during the occupation by the English. Among them we have the following: Fathers Justinien Durand, Bonaventure Masson, Félix Pain, Simon de la Place, Maurice de la Corne etc. . . .

The history of the Recollects in Acadia is still in single monographs. Worthy of consultation are especially: *Le Père Félix Pain, Recollect*, by Father Archangel Godbout, O.F.M., a series of six articles in the *Revue Franciscaine*, 1927-1928, and also by the same author, *Le P. Bonaventure Masson, ibid.*, May, 1927. Together with a general view of the religious history of Acadia during the eighteenth century, information concerning the Recollects may be found in Rev. H. R. Casgrain's *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions Etrangères en Acadie (1676-1762)*, Quebec, 1897.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Arch. canadiennes* for 1905, II, App. A, Part III, 57 ff. Cf. *Candidé de Nant*, O.M.Cap., *Une Mission Capucine en Acadie*, Paris, 1927, where *passim* the author speaks of the Recollects of the Immaculate Conception. Cf. also Father Couillard-Després, *Charles de St-Etienne de la Tour*, Arthabaska, 1930, wherein Chapter X is devoted almost entirely to them. The author brings to light some unknown documents relative to these Recollects after 1633.

¹⁶ The civil registers kept by Father Claude Moireau, missionary of the Mines, of Beaubassin and of Rivière Saint-Jean, are still extant. The acts cover the years 1680-1686. Likewise those of Fathers Felix Pain and Bonaventure Masson, Port-Royale, Beaubassin and Grand-Pré are preserved. Copies of these registers are in the *Archives of Canada*, Ottawa. The few originals of Acadia's parish register still extant are scattered: in Louisiana (that of Grand'Prée), in France at La Rochelle (that of Beaubassin or of Port-Royale) in Quebec, Episcopal Archives. Ottawa has only copies that are untrustworthy.

L'Isle Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) was likewise from the time of its occupation by the Acadians, a field of the Recollect apostolate. Their history on L'Isle Saint-Jean is not written.

Summary information may be had in H.-R. Casgrain's *Une seconde Acadia*. (Ile Saint-Jean), Quebec, 1894; John Macmillan's, *The Early*

History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, Quebec, 1905; Rev. D. C. Harvey's, *The French Régime in Prince Edward Island*, New Haven, 1926; *Les anciens Récollets [à l'Isle St.-Jean]*, in *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (Montreal), Feb. and March, 1903.

X. ILE ROYALE (CAPE BRETON)

It was with the foundation of Louisburg and the colonization of the Ile Royale in 1713 that the ministry of the Recollects began in these places. The cession of Newfoundland to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, forced France to fortify the Ile Royale in order to ward off an entry to New France through the Gulf.

The history of the Recollects in the Ile Royale has been partially written by Father Hugolin Lemay in two studies published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 1930 and 1931:

What Has Been Done *Les Récollets de la province de Saint-Denis et ceux de la province de Bretagne, missionnaires et aumôniers dans l'Ile Royale, de 1713 à 1731,*¹⁷ and *Table nominale des Récollets de Bretagne, missionnaires et aumôniers dans l'Ile Royale (1713-1759)*. Worthy also of consultation is: *Les Missionnaires du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit Québec et en Acadie au XVIII^e siècle*, in *Nova Francia* (Paris), I, 1926 (also edited separately), by Rev. Father David, C. Sp.

The history of the Recollects of Brittany from 1731 to the capture of Louisburg is still unwritten. Numerous documents on this period of their history at Cape Breton may be had from the Archives of Canada. The Recollects of Saint-Denis are known to have left the Ile Royale in 1731.

¹⁷ Translated into English in 1934, Montreal, through the interest of Mr. Albert Almon, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, but, to my knowledge, not yet published.

XI. GASPESIA AND NEIGHBOURING PLACES

As early as 1673 the Recollects began their apostolate in Gaspesia among the Micmacs, and did not delay in establishing themselves in this region at Percé. This place where Father Joseph Denis and Brother Didacus labored so arduously, was plundered, profaned and destroyed in 1690 by pirates following in the wake of Admiral Phipp's fleet when on its way to its fateful adventure against Quebec.¹⁸

The first and most renowned of the Gaspesian missionaries is Father Chrétien Le Clercq. In 1691 he composed a work, the *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie*, treating of the Indian customs on the Gaspesian peninsula and of the apostolate of the Recollects among the Micmacs and fishermen. It is the foundation and short history of the residence at Percé that Father Hugolin narrates in *L'Etablissement des Recollets à l'Isle Percé (1673-1690)*, in the *Bul. des Recherches historiques* (Levis), 1911-1912, a work edited separately.

In the Gaspesian region, around the Baie des Chaleurs and present New Brunswick, the Recollects served Restigouche, Nipisiguit, Miramichi, Miscou; they also evangelized the Micmacs and the Malecites. Worthy of special mention are: Father Emmanuel Jumeau, who is the author of the map of "La grande Baye de Saint Laurent"; Father Simon de la Place, a holy religious who died at his post in 1699. His death and the transfer of his remains to Quebec was an extraordinary event, noted in documents in Father Jouve's collection. These form a part of his important collection on this religious, to whom miracles have been ascribed.

The history of the Recollects in Gaspesia and environs exists only in numerous scattered writings, especially those of Father Pacifique, O.M.Cap., who writes on Restigouche and the Micmacs, whom he knows thoroughly and whom he served for a great part of his life. The works treating on the Acadian Missions may also be consulted. Moreover, Mr. John Mason Clarke, who wrote several works on Gaspé, should not be neglected; likewise,

¹⁸ Father Fm. Jumeau, Recollect, in a letter to Father Le Clercq, Oct. 15, 1690, printed in the *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, 7-16, describes the terrible circumstances of the pillage of Percé, of the residence and chapel of the Recollects, also of the mission of Ile Bonaventure.

in his *Gaspésie au Soleil*, Montreal, 1925, Brother Bernard, C.S.V., also mentions, *passim*, 103-138, the Recollect missions.

XII. NEWFOUNDLAND

Under the French rule the Bishop of Quebec had jurisdiction over Newfoundland, the "capital" of which was Plaisance. Bishop de Saint-Valier himself accompanied the Recollects from Quebec to Plaisance in 1689.¹⁰ These Recollects (Province of St. Denis) had the spiritual care of the island until 1701. Besides Plaisance, where the Governor dwelt, there existed at the time of the Recollects (1691) eight other French establishments along the coast, comprising the Isles of St. Peter (to-day known as St. Peter and Miquelon).

The history of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denis has been related by Father Hugolin, *Etablissements des Recollets de la Province de Saint-Denis à Plaisance en l'Île de Terre-Neuve*, 1689, in the *Nouvelle France* (Quebec), October and

Friars of November, 1912, and in a separate pamphlet, 24, 8vo.
Various The Religious of St. Denis were replaced by the Recol-
Provinces lects of Brittany, and, from 1713 on, there were no more Friars Minor in Newfoundland until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Irish Franciscans succeeded the Recollects and furnished bishops and priests to the country almost to our own days. Father Ludovic Maltais recalls this last page of history in *Vestiges Franciscains à Terre-Neuve*, in *Revue Franciscaine*, 1930, October, 441-444. A more complete relation with portraits and illustrations may be found in the *Centenary Volume, Irish Benevolent Society of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1806-1906*. Cork, Guy & Sons, 298, 8vo.

XIII. ARMY CHAPLAINS

In France the Recollects, as we already know, were army chaplains. In 1676, Louis XIV, while confirming by letters patent and of amortization the actual and future establishments of the Recollects in New France, also entrusted to them the chaplaincy of the troops and forts. These forts ranged from the Atlantic to the middle of the continent, on the Mississippi River, and formed a defence-line for

¹⁰ Fathers Joseph Denis and Sixte Le tac, and perhaps Brother Didacus Pelletier.

all communications between Canada and Louisiana. This defence-line began at Louisburg, at Ile St.-Jean, Port Royal (Acadia); then, from Quebec it passed through Chambly and the Ile-aux-Noix, on the Iroquois river (= Richelieu River), rejoining thus the Great Lakes which it marked with forts, such as Frontenac (= Kingston), Niagara, Detroit. From the Great Lakes it continued towards Louisiana through the posts of La Presqu'île (= Erie, Pa.), Lebeuf (= Waterford), Rivère-aux-Boeufs), Machaut, Duquesne (= Pittsburgh), and others. It included half of North America.

In all these strongholds the chaplains kept civil registers. Several have been preserved, but only one has been published, e. g., that of fort Duquesne, respecting the year 1753-1756. It was published for the first time by J. G. Shea, New York, 1859, 60, 8vo. In 1887, J.-M. Beaudry also published in the *Transactions* of the R. S. C., *Un vieux Fort Francais* [= fort Beauharnais] *d'après le registre tenu par les Récollets*, 93-114.

As for the conduct of the Recollect Chaplains during the campaigns, it often deserved a special mention. Thus Father Maurice de la Corne "manifested in the Port-Lajoie skirmish [on the Ile St.-Jean] at the head of his Micmacs, an intrepidity worthy of a warrior."

Considerable research must still be made on this aspect of Recollect ministry in French America. So far the information on this subject is very limited.

XIV. BIOGRAPHIES OF RECOLLECTS

Regarding most of the Recollects of French and British North America we have to-day at least some definite information. I have already stated what information can be gathered from the repositories of Fathers Noiseux, Tanguay and Allaire. A similar work is the recently published (June, 1936), *Nécrologe de la Province Saint-Joseph . . . des Frères Mineurs du Canada*, Montreal, Impr. des Franciscains, 1936, 174, 8vo. For the first time this Necrology, published periodically with an interval of several years, mentions the names of the early Recollects. The reference is only a summary, but, as such, it is at least free of the countless errors that mar the publications of Noiseux, etc.²⁰

²⁰ The sketches in the new *Nécrologe* were prepared by Father Dominic Bonin, O.F.M.

There are, moreover, scattered data for Recollect biographies in a goodly number of publications, too numerous to mention. Nevertheless, on account of its importance, I wish to mention the *Dictionnaire général de biographie etc. du Canada*, by

Scattered Data Father Le Jeune, O.M.I., Ottawa, 1931, which contains, besides an article on the Recollects in general and those of Canada, 15 sketches on the following religious: Didace Pelletier, Dolbeau (Jean), Douay (Anastase), Hennepin (Louis), Jamet (Denis), D'Aillon (Joseph), Le Caron (Joseph), Le Clercq (Christien), Le Clercq (Maxime), Le Tac (Sixte), Membré (Zénobe), Sagard (Gabriel-Theodat), Viel (Nicolas).

There may be found also *passim* in *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, I, Quebec, 1915, by Father Jouve, abundant information on the Recollects of the first period (1615-1629), at least in as far as their missionary activity in New France is concerned. The same author's recent work on *Les Franciscains . . . aux Trois-Rivières*, Paris, 1934, contains entire chapters on each of the Recollect superiors and parish priests and an abundance of authentic notes on the 130 Recollects of Trois-Rivières and its surrounding districts throughout a period of 150 years. This work is a kind of forecast regarding the rich information that will be found in the catalogue of the Saint Denis Recollects in Canada, which Father Jouve is about to finish.

This present paper, owing to the numerous bibliographical data given, opens the way to the reader to secure an abundance of information. I have purposely intended this paper to be a guide for studies concerning our Recollects.

On several Recollects sketches and even books have been written. The *Tableau Littéraire* mentioned above (*A. F. H.*, 1934) contains the list of these biographies (26-29), excluding writings already mentioned in this *Tableau* on Fathers

Notable Biographies Viel, Hennepin, Le Clercq (Chrétien) and Brothers Sagard and Didace Pelletier. Therefore, on pp. 26-29 will be found in alphabetical order the list of biographical writings on the following Recollects:

Fathers.—Bernardin de Gannes-Falaise; Denis Jamet; Felix Pain; Felix de Berey; Gabriel de la Ribourde; Germain Allart; Jean Dolbeau; Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon; Joseph Denis;

Joseph Le Caron; Louis-Eustache Chartier de Lotbinière; Luc François, deacon; ²¹ Olivier Goyer; Zénobe Membéré.

Lay-Brothers.—Alexis and Hyacinthe Charest; Louis Bonamy; Marc Contant; Pacifique Duplessis; Paul Fournier.

XV. CENTENARY OF THE FAITH (1915-1916)

The splendid work of the Recollects in Canada and especially their title of pioneers of the Faith were gratefully acknowledged in 1915-1916 by religious and national celebrations, above all at Quebec, the cradle of New France and of the apostolate of the Recollects. Here the Third Centenary of the Faith was celebrated in a most fitting manner.

The celebration begun in 1914 by the Franciscans immediately became popular and before long was considered both a national and religious affair. All our Bishops issued Pastoral Letters or Mandates, while the civil authorities gave their strongest support. A subscription was started for the erection of a monument to the first Recollects, and committees were formed for the preparation of the celebrations. These took place at Quebec, Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Sault-au-Recollet, Lafontaine (Ontario), in 1915, but above all in October, 1916, when the belated monument arrived from France, and which was erected in the center of the public square where formerly stood the Convent of the Recollects, just a short distance from the Chateau Frontenac and the monument to Champlain.

During 1914, 1915 and 1916, Canadian periodicals printed numerous reports of the different committees spurred on by Father Odoric Jouve; others also contributed to the success of the Third Centenary by the publication of historical articles. Hundreds of these writings have been collected and bound in a register in 4to. form and are now in the library of St. Joseph's Convent at Montreal. It is impossible to name any but the following

²¹ More ample information may be gathered from Mr. Gérard Moriset's recent study on Brother Luke, a renowned painter at the end of the XVIIIth century and about the beginning of the XVIIIth. Mr. Morisset has begun to publish this study in *Les Arts au Canada Français. Peintres et Tableaux*, Quebec, 1936. He devotes more than 30 pages to Brother Luke and intends, later on, to devote an entire volume to him.

few books and pamphlets relative to the celebrations of the Third Centenary:

P. Odoric Jouve, *Le Troisième Centenaire de l'Établissement de la Foi au Canada*, 1616-1915, Quebec, 1915, 16, 8vo., Ill.; by the same author, a pamphlet with the same title, Quebec, 1915, 32, 4°, Ill.; *idem* in English, Quebec, 1915, 32, 4to., Ill.; [Rev. H. Brunet], *In Penetanguishene, Old and New*, s. l. n. d., 22, 8vo. It is here that the first Mass in the territory of Ontario was celebrated, August 12, 1615, by the Recollect Father Joseph Le Caron. Lastly, there is by P. Odoric Jouve, *Volume souvenir des fêtes de 1615-1616*, Quebec, 1917, XIV, 500, 8vo., Ill.

XVI. THE FRIARS MINOR IN CANADA SINCE 1890

It is impossible to present even a short summary sketch of the history of the Friars Minor in Canada since their re-establishment. Hence the reader must be content with a few dates and figures.

The Friars Minor were re-established in Canada in 1890 (at Montreal), by the Observant Province of St. Louis of Anjou, in France. The Father Provincial himself, M. R. F. Othon (de Pavie) conducted the first friars to Montreal. The Franciscans in

Canada were a part of the Province of St. Louis only up to the erection, in 1892, of the Province of St. Peter, branch of St. Louis' Province. The friars of Canada united with this new Province of which they were a part until the erection of their autonomous commissariat in 1920. Lastly, on February 15, 1927, the commissariat became the Province of St. Joseph.

The following table gives the present number of our convents, residences and *hospices*, with the date of their foundation:

Place and Title	CONVENTS	
	Diocese	Foundation Capacity
Montreal ²²		
<i>St. Joseph</i>	Montreal	1890 50
Quebec		
<i>Sacred Stigmata</i>	Quebec	1900 90
Trois-Rivières		
<i>St. Anthony</i>	Trois-Rivières	1903 50

²² Provincial House.

<i>Place and Title</i>	<i>Diocese</i>	<i>Foundation Capacity</i>	
Montreal <i>Resurrection</i>	Montreal	1915	70
Ottawa ²³ <i>St. Saviour</i>	Ottawa	1919	12
Sherbrooke <i>The Assumption</i>	Sherbrooke	1920	50
Sorel <i>St. Peter Baptist</i>	St. Hyacinthe	1922	18
Aroostook <i>Immaculate Conception</i>	Chatam (N. B.)	1935	12

RESIDENCES

Maliseet <i>St. Anne</i>	Chatam	1921	6
Vancouver <i>St. Francis Solano</i>	Vancouver (B. C.)	1924	10
Chateauguay ²⁴ <i>Christ the King</i>	Valleyfield	1930	20
Regina <i>Regina Minorum</i>	Regina (Sask.)	1931	18
Biddeford <i>Sacred Heart</i>	Biddeford (Maine)	1933	5

HOSPICES ²⁵

Fort Saskatchewan <i>St. Mary of the Angels</i>	Edmonton (Alta.)	1908
Tilley <i>St. Joseph</i>	Chatam	1921
Red Rapids <i>Sacred Heart</i>	Chatam	1921

²³ Includes also the Canadian Commissariat of the Holy Land.²⁴ House for Closed Retreats for men. Capacity 40.²⁵ Date assigned for hospices is generally that of the acceptance.

<i>Place and Title</i>	<i>Diocese</i>	<i>Foundation</i>
Plaster Rock <i>St. Thomas of Aquinas</i>	Chatam	1921
Blue Bell <i>The Assumption</i>	Chatam	1921
Limestone <i>St. Patrick</i>	Chatam	1922
Bairdsville <i>Holy Cross</i>	Edmonton	1934
Anshaw <i>Our Lady of the Visitation</i>	Edmonton	1934

The history of the reëstablishment of the Franciscans in Canada, as well as of their foundation at Montreal (1890-1892), was written in 1916 by Fr. Xavier M. Ricomes, one of the friars of the foundation. The typewritten copy consists of 329 leaves 8vo., with a plan of the first residence. In 1915, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the reëstablishment, a commemorative work was published under the direction of Fr. Hugolin Lemay: *Vingt-cinq années de vie franciscaine au Canada, Montréal (1915)*, 336, 8vo., 70 engravings. The table of contents shows the historical development and the activities of these first 25 years. It follows:

Return of the Franciscans to Canada
 St. Joseph's Convent, Dorchester St.
 The Parish and Residence of St. Francis Solano
 The Convent of the Resurrection in East Montreal
 The Seraphic College at Montreal
 The Third Order in Montreal
 St. Elizabeth's Home (Montreal)
 St. Anthony's Chapel and St. Anthony's Home (Montreal)
 The "Ave Maria" (a "Home" at Montreal)
 The Commissariat of the Holy Land at 3-R.
 The Seraphic College at Three Rivers
 Parish of Our Lady of Seven Joys at 3-R.
 The Franciscans in Quebec
 The Third Order in Quebec
 St. Margarite's Home (Quebec)

The Franciscans in the West
 Our Houses of Menin and L'Ecluse
 The Apostolic Syndics
 Franciscan Activity
 The Third Order in Canada
 The Franciscans and Temperance
 Canadian Missionaries in China and Japan
 Franciscan Literary Activity in Canada from 1890 to 1915
Revue du Tiers-Ordre et de la Terre Sainte
 The Franciscans and the English-speaking Catholics in Canada
 Our Deceased Religious

Lack of space prevents further treatment of these subjects, but in general we must say that the Province has continued its course of varied activity. The number of friars has increased as well as that of the convents. In 1936 our friars number 400. The history of most of our houses has been written at least summarily and for some of them detailed accounts are to be found in various periodicals. Regarding our Third Order we have the following works:

Fr. Ephrem [Longpré, O.F.M.], *Le Tiers-Ordre séculier de S. F. D'Assise au Canada, Esquisse historique*, Montreal, 1921, 172, 8vo. The same year Fr. Hugolin Lemay published the following: *La Bibliographie du Tiers-Ordre de S. François au Canada (province de Québec)*, Montreal, 1921, 150, 8vo. A *Supplément*, Montreal, 1932, 48, 8vo., continues this inventory up to 1932.

Mention should also be made of our Mission in Japan, now an Apostolic Prefecture. Much has already been published on this mission, hence the compilation of its history will not be difficult. As to the contribution of the Franciscans of Canada to our College at Quarrachi, we need but mention Fr. Ephrem Longpré, who has done scholarly work there for many years.

The literary activity of the Franciscans in Canada since 1890 has been indexed by Fr. Hugolin Lemay in the following works: *Bibliographie franciscaine. Inventaire des revues, livres, brochures et autres écrits publiés par les Franciscains du Canada de 1890 à 1915*, Québec, 1916, 144, 8vo.; **Literary Activity** *Bibliographie etc. . . . Supplément* until the year 1931, Québec, 1932, 214, 8vo.; *Bio-bibliographie du R. P. Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M.*, Québec, 1931, 40, 8vo.; *Biblio-*

graphie du R. P. Joachim Monfette, O.F.M., Québec, 1931, 42, 8vo. Many other bibliographies are on the way to completion. In these divers inventories mention will be made of all the printed writings, touching the history of the Friars Minor in Canada since 1890.

Before concluding this brief sketch, it will be proper to mention the Servant of God, Father Frederic Janssoone, O.F.M., whose cause of beatification has been introduced in Rome.

Fr. Frederic was the precursor of the Franciscan restoration in Canada. As early as 1888, he had established at Three Rivers a Commissariat of the Holy Land. By 1916, the year of his death, French Canada had been edified by his virtues. His very appearance and especially his speech reflected St. Francis. Fr. Matthew Daunais, O.F.M., Vice-Postulator of the cause in Canada, has published a series of monographs, which have been based on the documentary evidence contained in the two following works of Fr. Hugolin Lemay: *Bibliographie et Iconographie du Serviteur de Dieu, le R. P. Frédéric Janssoone, O.F.M.*, Québec, 1932, 64, 8vo., and *Les Manuscrits du R. P. Frédéric Janssoone, O.F.M., Description et analyse*, Quaracchi, 1935, XVI, 72, grand 8vo.

DISCUSSION

FR. MARION HABIG, O.F.M.:—The paper just read is exactly what one would expect from such an outstanding bibliographer as Fr. Hugolin Lemay—an excellent panoramic survey of what has been done and what still remains to be done in the writing of Franciscan history for New France and Canada. I do not think there is any question that for no other phase of the Franciscan history of North America such complete and detailed bibliographical information and evaluation is available as that supplied by Fr.

An Outstanding Contributor

Hugolin in this and in his other writings.

Documentary material on the friars in New France is regrettably fragmentary; but by patiently piecing together the fragments, I feel confident, historians will eventually produce a satisfactory history of the Franciscans in New France. An example of how documents are sometimes found in unexpected places was the discovery in 1924 of an account of the first holy Mass celebrated among the Hurons by Fr. Joseph Le Caron. It was found in an exhumed piece of pottery (*Revue Franciscaine*, 1925, 27).

Some time ago I stumbled upon an interesting reference to Fr. Emmanuel Crespel, superior toward the close of the second period, and mentioned by Fr. Hugolin as the author of a work, in letter form, telling of his shipwreck, which was printed for the first time in 1742 and appeared in sixteen editions. The original manuscript volume of ninety pages (small octavo), entitled *Voitages du Rd. P. Emmanuel Crespel, Récollet dans le Canada*, written in Paderborn (*sic?*) in 1742 is among the *rarissima* of the

An Interesting Reference

Connolly Library of Americana (*Catholic Historical Review*, V, 428). In passing, let me say that this account (I read the German version) is one of the most exciting adventure stories I have ever read; and unwittingly the author describes his own heroic conduct on the occasion of the shipwreck in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The later as well as the early Franciscans in New France were, indeed, men of high character, prompted by the noblest motives and ideals, worthy collaborators of their Spanish brethren; and this, despite the fact that some writers on the politics of the times insinuate that the friars were merely tools of self-seeking politicians. Whatever may have been the motives of the government and its representatives, those of the Franciscan missionaries were pure and unsullied. Here I can not refrain from quoting a paragraph from a letter written by Fr. Joseph Le Caron, the apostle of the Hurons, to one of his friends:

The Apostle of the Hurons

"It would be difficult to tell you the fatigue I have suffered, having been obliged to have my paddle in hand all day long and row with all my strength with the Indians. I have more than a hundred times walked in the rivers over the sharp rocks, which cut my feet, in the mud, in the woods, where I carried the canoe and my little baggage, in order to avoid the rapids and frightful waterfalls. I say nothing of the painful fast which beset us, having only a little sagamity, which is a kind of pulmentum composed of water and the meal of Indian corn, a small quantity of which is dealt out to us morning and evening. Yet I must avow that amid my pains I felt much consolation. For alas! when we see such a great number of infidels, and nothing but a drop of water is needed to make them children of God, one feels an ardor which I cannot express to labor for their conversion and to sacrifice for it one's repose and life" (Shea, *Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, II, 95-96).

Incidentally, Fr. Odoric M. Jouve, O.F.M., of Paris, is at present engaged in writing a biography of this zealous missionary, Fr. Le Caron.

English writers especially have not infrequently minimized and even ignored the work of the Franciscans in New France. Fr. Hugolin's paper alone is proof enough that such methods and statements are not consonant with the facts of history. It points out how far-flung was the field of their missionary endeavors, how numerous were the men in the field, how manifold their activities, and how long their work was carried on. In the valley of the St. Lawrence, in the country of the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais, in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, in the region of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi valley down to the Gulf and even in Texas—everywhere we find the friars from France. And take note of the three periods mentioned by Fr. Hugolin: 1615-1629, 14 years; 1670-1850, 180 years; 1890-1936, 46 years; a total of 240 years.

Some years ago, after I had seen the list of the Jesuits in New France which has been printed in the *Jesuit Relations* and contains 320 names, I commenced to draw up a list of the Franciscans in New France during the colonial period. It was necessarily incomplete, but had no less than 223 names. Afterwards I learned from Fr. Hugolin that Fr. Odoric Jouve was compiling a "repertoire generale des Récollets de la Nouvelle France"; and the latter informed me that his list, as yet incomplete, contained the names of about 250 Franciscan priests and 60 Brothers who went to New France as missionaries—a total of 310. Of the 320 Jesuits, only 218 were priests; and a few were natives of Canada, who are excluded in Fr.

List of Friars in New France

Jouve's list of the Franciscans. The work of the friars, therefore, was by no means as negligible as some writers would have us believe.

It is wrong also to think that the history of the Franciscans in New France pertains only to Canada. This history should be a matter of particular interest also to us, since so many of the French and Flemish friars labored within the confines of the United States. Some of the forts, for instance, where they served as chaplains, became well known American cities. Thus Fort Orillon became Ticonderoga, N. Y.; Fort Niagara, Youngstown, N. Y.; Fort Presqu'îles, Erie, Pa.; Fort Le Boeuf, Waterford, Pa.; Fort Duquesne, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Fort Pontchartrain, Detroit, Mich. The Franciscans of New France appear also on the honor roll of our martyrs: Fr. Constantin Delhalle at Detroit, Mich.; Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde at Seneca, Ill.; Frs. Zénobe Membré and Maxim Le Clercq at Fort St. Louis in Texas.

The Canadian historian Kingsford wrote: "The country (Canada) owes the Order (the Franciscan Order) a debt of gratitude, which history has only imperfectly paid; any mention of their name has been merely perfunctory without acknowledgment or sympathy." That is even more true of the United States. But there are indications of a slowly changing attitude: Pittsburgh honors

Belated

Acknowledgment

Fr. Denis Baron as the priest who said the first holy Mass where the city now stands; St. Bonaventure's College has named one of its new halls for Fr. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, who was the first to make mention of the presence of mineral oil in New York State; a little monument to Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde has been set up at Seneca, Ill.; another, erected only last year at Rochester, N. Y., commemorates the building of the first structure for Christian worship in that area by Frs. La Ribourde, Hennepin, and Membré. Such enterprises, it seems to me, should be encouraged by us Franciscans. Anyhow, I cherish the fond hope that the many excellent suggestions which Fr. Hugolin has given us in his paper will bear abundant fruit in the near future.

FR. CLAUDE VOGEL, O.M.Cap.:—Fr. Lemay, referring to Fr. Prothais Boyer, Recollect, in Louisiana, remarks that he knows of no other Recollect that worked there. In my investigations of that field I have come across another Recollect, Fr. Victorin, who was affiliated to the Capuchin mission of Louisiana from at least 1725 to about 1735. This Recollect seems to have worked only among the Apalache Indians which at that time were under the jurisdiction of the Capuchins. A letter dated Versailles, October 17, 1736, from Maurepas to Bienville and Salmon in Louisiana, states that Fr. Victorin, Recollect, had been released by the Capuchin Fr. Mathias. (Cf. AC. C13A, 10; B 64 : 516.)

NEW FRANCE, II

HISTORY OF THE CAPUCHINS IN CANADA

Fr. ALEXIS DE BARBEZIEUX, O.M.Cap.

Before discussing the main theme of our subject which is the establishment in more recent days of our Order in Canada, we think it fitting to refer briefly to the missionaries who preceded us in this country and who earned such great esteem for our Order.

I. EARLY MISSIONARIES

It is common knowledge that the first missionaries of Quebec were the Recollect and the Jesuit Fathers (1615-1625).

But this first foundation lasted but a short time, **Forerunners** since, in 1629, the French village which numbered only about fifty people fell into the hands of the English who expelled these priests.

Happily, Cardinal Richelieu regained the lost colonies by the Treaty of St. Germain (March, 1632).

It is not necessary to relate here how Fr. Joseph du Tremblay, Capuchin, having at that time great influence at the Court of France, refused on behalf of his brethren, the post of Quebec, considering it unseemly that they should reap where others had sown, and how, finally, the Jesuits returned to Quebec and the Capuchins were given charge of Acadia.

The Rev. Fr. Candide de Nant, O.M.Cap., in a book entitled *Glorious Pages from the Canadian Epoch* ¹ has related in full the story of the Acadian Mission. Landing at the port of La Have (Nova-Scotia), in August, 1632, six Capuchins and three hundred colonists, under the leadership of Governor de Razilly, eventually established themselves at Port-Royal (Annapolis) in 1635. They entered courageously upon their parochial ministry among the white people and worked assiduously for the conversion of the Micmac Indians, founded two schools for boys and girls and won high praise from Governor de Razilly: "The Capuchin Fathers,"

¹ Montreal, *Le Devoir*, 1927.

he reported to the Court, "have so edified us by their example that, by the grace of God, vice has no place in this settlement. . . ."

Twenty-three Fathers and nine Lay Brothers devoted themselves to this mission which embraced seven permanent stations and which promised great results. But it fell, alas! a victim to the war. An English fleet sent by Cromwell seized Port-Royal (1654) and took the Capuchins back to Europe, all except four who were massacred or met death in the forest, at the hands of the savages.

Since 1894, our Fathers have had charge of the mission of Ste. Anne de Restigouche, which has become the headquarters of the Micmac Indians, to whom the Rev. Fr. Pacifique de Valigny, *their patriarch*, has devoted all his talents and even his life.

The Capuchin Bishop, Mgr. de Mornay, was born at Vannes, of an eminent family, in 1663. He was Guardian of the Monastery of Meudon, in 1713, when he was chosen Coadjutor of Quebec. "The Lord Bishop of Quebec² is returning

Bishop this year to his diocese. . . . He has asked His
De Mornay Majesty to give him a Coadjutor. He has acceded to this request and has named the Rev. Fr. de Mornay, Capuchin, who is distinguished not only by birth but by an exemplary piety and a sound and intelligent sense of ruling, having attained during nineteen years to the highest offices of his Order."³

Bishop de Mornay never came to Quebec, but remained in Paris as Procurator for Canada and Administrator of Louisiana.⁴ He died in 1741.

When the English conquered Canada (1760) they committed many atrocities in Acadia. Americans are familiar with this from the poem, *Evangeline*, by Longfellow. On the lands of the

Irish exiled Acadians, English, Scotch and Irish colonies
Capuchins were established. Now, amongst these immigrants were some few Catholics and these were served by several priests of their own nationality. Three of these missionaries, Fathers Jones, Grace and Phelan, were Capuchins. Fr. James Jones arrived in the country in 1785, to the great satisfaction of the Bishop of Quebec who made him his Vicar General for Halifax and Nova Scotia. The Acadians loved him because he spoke French. The English loved him for his great

² Mgr. de Saint-Vallier.

³ Letter from the King to Governor de Vaudreuil.

⁴ Cf. *The Capuchins in French Louisiana*, by Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., New York, 1928.

zeal and eloquence. The Protestants were attracted to him by his gentlemanly manners. Illness forced him to return home in 1800. Fr. Lawrence Phelan has left but little trace of his presence here. He landed at Halifax in December, 1789, and left for Philadelphia in 1792.

As to Fr. Thomas Grace, he was a man of no great distinction or accomplishment though of good moral life. He lived here from 1789 till his death in 1827.

It is some time after these three that we meet another Capuchin, Mgr. Thomas Louis Connolly, Archbishop of Halifax, who entered the Irish Province whose novitiate had been transferred to Frascati in 1825. Here young Connolly made his novitiate, then finished his studies at Lyons, France.⁵ Four years later (1842) he landed at Halifax as secretary to Mgr. Walsh, Bishop of that town. In 1852 he became Bishop of St. John, N. S.; and at the death of his benefactor he succeeded him in the see of Halifax (1859).

The record left by Mgr. Connolly has been the subject of much discussion. By reason of his liberalism, his servility and his worldly manners, he won the favor of the British authorities and of the officers of the fleet and of various regiments which garrisoned this port. He was greatly esteemed by the Protestants. It may be supposed that the Catholics, especially the Acadians, were less enthusiastic in the expression of their sentiments towards him.

Armand de Charbonnel was born at the Chateau de Flacats, Dec. 1, 1802. Ordained priest in 1825, he entered Saint Sulpice the following year. He taught theology in the seminaries of Paris, Bordeaux and Versailles. As they wished to make
Mgr. de him bishop, he asked to be sent to the seminary at
Charbonnel Baltimore (1839), whence he came to Montreal. He was remarkable for his talent, his virtue and a certain originality. At the time of the epidemic of typhus in 1847, which proved fatal to so many Irish immigrants and a number of devoted priests, he contracted the malady while attending the sick and nearly died. His superiors were then forced to send him back to France for a change of air and to recuperate his strength (1847-50). It was in 1850 that Pius IX ordered him to Rome and personally consecrated him Bishop of Toronto.

⁵ Bullar, O.M.Cap., Rome, IX, 400.

The works accomplished by this great man at Toronto are well known. He fought bravely for the establishment of Catholic schools. He established in his diocese the Basilian Fathers, the Brothers of the Christian Schools and the Sisters of St. Joesph. He procured the erection of the dioceses of London and Hamilton and finally the creation of the ecclesiastical Province of Toronto.

In 1860 he resigned his office and became a Capuchin. In this new capacity Cardinal de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, made excellent use of him in his diocese. Mgr. de Charbonnel traversed the whole of France preaching retreats to the clergy and the faithful. With both he became very popular. Old age and the infirmities accompanying it eventually forced the saintly old man to retire to the convent of Crest, in Dauphiné, where he died in 1891. For a long time he had entertained the hope of introducing his brethren to Canada through the mediation of his friend Fr. Louis de Lavagna, whose career we are about to recount. His dreams were not fulfilled; but he had, at least, the consolation of learning, before his death, the news of our establishment at Ottawa (1890), which permitted him to die happily.^a

This good religious was born at Genoa, Italy, in 1801, of a family of merchants. He was engaged in the profession of broker when a cure which he judged to be miraculous threw him into the arms of St. Francis. As he spoke both English and French he was chosen to be one of a group of missionaries, in 1842, whose object was to restore the Order in France. About 1848, he met at Lyons a Sulpician from Montreal, Mgr. de Charbonnel, with whom he formed a lasting friendship. These two immediately conceived the plan of establishing a Capuchin mission in Canada.

When, in 1850, Mgr. de Charbonnel was consecrated Bishop of Toronto by Pius IX., he obtained from the Propaganda and from the Father General of the Capuchins, permission for Fr. Louis to work for the end on which they had set their minds. The plans of the two friends, however, met with many obstacles. Passing through London, Fr. Louis made the acquaintance of Fr. Howard, future Cardinal, who gave him the idea of restoring our Order in Great Britain. It was due to him that Lord Denbigh, Viscount Fielding, a convert to the Catholic faith, donated to the Capu-

^a *Vie de Mgr. de Charbonnel*, by the Rev. Fr. Candide de Nant, O.M.Cap., Librairie St-Francois d'Assise, Paris, 1931.

chins the famous monastery of Pantasaph. We do not need to recount here the difficulties attending the foundation of the English Province which is now so firmly established.

Fr. Louis knew all the bitterness of these early difficulties. In 1856 he received orders to set out for Bombay in India. He departed without a word of recrimination; but having reached Malta he became gravely ill and was forced to land there. In the meantime Mgr. de Charbonnel, informed of what had happened, became impatient at the delay in the execution of his plans and lodged a formal complaint with the Holy Father. This man who knew how to speak plainly when necessary, gained his object. A new "obedience" was sent to Fr. Louis who immediately used it to such effect that on Ascension Day, 1856, he arrived at Toronto.

The Bishop, overcome with joy, received him like a brother. He appointed him to the Irish parish of St. Mary. The fanatical Protestants could not conceal their horror at seeing a friar in his rough serge habit and sandalled feet. But the Catholics saw in their new pastor the re-incarnation of St. Francis. Their joy was, alas! of short duration. On March 17, 1857, after only four days' illness, Fr. Louis died. Imposing ceremonies marked his funeral and his memory still lives among many in Toronto.

As to Mgr. de Charbonnel, despairing of getting the Capuchins to come to *him*, he himself, in 1860, joined the Order and became one of *them*.

Another distinguished Capuchin to minister in Canada was Ignace Persico. He was born at Naples in 1823. Entering the Order in his early years, he was ordained priest in 1846. Shortly after his ordination, he set out for Patna in India. The Vicar

Cardinal Apostolic, Mgr. Hartmann, appreciating his gifts and placing great confidence in him, took him with him when he was transferred to the see of Bombay.

On the occasion of the Goanese "schism," Persico was sent as delegate to Rome to protect the interests of the Missions. He was completely successful both at Rome and at London (1853). His efforts were recognized when he became successively Auxiliary to Mgr. Hartmann and Vicar Apostolic of Agra. The revolt of the Indians, generally known as the *Indian Mutiny*, was nearly fatal to him. All his work came to nought, accused of treason by his enemies, his health failed and he returned to his country in 1860.

He came to the United States in 1867 to work as a missionary in South Carolina. A few years later he was appointed Bishop of Savannah, Georgia (1870). But the climate again disagreed with him and he was forced to resign. It was at this point that the abbé Louis Paquet, a priest at the Quebec Seminary, invited him to seek rest and recuperation in the home of Mgr. Taschereau, whom he had recently met at the Vatican Council. He was kindly received at the Archbishop's residence and soon afterwards, in order to provide for his maintenance, was offered the little suburban parish of Sillery with the help of a curate of his own choice, who would relieve him of the cares of the ministry. He remained three years in this delightful retreat (1873-76). It was during the time of the quarrel between Quebec and Montreal on the question of the University. There was a rumor, not without some basis, that Mgr. Persico had been charged by the Holy See to investigate this affair and also two others.

Thus it was that the Capuchin Bishop entered on his career as investigator, which carried him on missions to Malabar, to Ireland, and led to his appointment as Secretary of the Propaganda. Created Cardinal in 1893, he died two years later (1895).

II. FOUNDATION OF FRIARIES

Everyone knows that the fall of the Government of Marshall MacMahon, President of the French Republic (1879), and the advent to power of his successor, Jules Grévy, allowed the Freemasons, who were then the dominant faction, to inaugurate a policy of persecution of Catholicism which was to result, in 1905, in the separation of Church and State. The Religious Orders were, as always, the first victims of this new policy. Their houses were confiscated (1880) and their members scattered.

The military law of 1889 stipulated that if the secular clergy were obliged to engage in military service for only one year, the regulars should be compelled to serve three years. Our enemies knew well that the atmosphere of the barracks was anything but favorable to the ascetic life or the preservation of vocations. Let us add, however, that the ruin of the Foreign Missions which brought so much honor to France, was the cause of much anxiety

to the Government. For this reason Article 50 of the new law allowed young conscripts who had spent ten years outside of Europe to be dispensed from military service in time of peace. This clause was to save the missionary congregations which were strong enough to bear the burden of exile beyond the seas.

No time was lost in profiting by the present opportunity. The Capuchins of the Paris Province sent their scholastics to Kadi-Kevi, formerly Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople. Those from Lyons established themselves at Beyrouth. From the Province of Savoy they emigrated to Brazil. There remained those of Toulouse. Our Very Rev. Fr. Bernard d'Andermatt, then Minister General, offered them a magnificent convent belonging to the Province of Genoa, at Montevideo, capital of Uruguay. The offer was very enticing.

At this point Rev. Fr. Alexis, O.M.Cap., who had lived in North America, pointed out to the Definitors that our young students would run the risk of losing their own tongue in a Spanish country and that it would be wiser to endeavor to settle in the French Province of Quebec. This idea seemed good. Fr. Alexis was taken at his word and was delegated to proceed, accompanied by an elderly friar, Rev. Fr. Ladislav, to Canada.

They set out then with letters of introduction and high recommendation from Rome to Paris, but with very little in their pockets (June 15, 1890). Received kindly in New York, first by the good

Departure to Canada Brothers of Manhattan College, then by the Capuchins at 210 W. 31st St., they had the happiness of becoming acquainted with old Fr. Bonaventure, one of the two Founders of the American Province of Capuchins, after which they left by train for Montreal. There the Sulpicians of the Church of Notre Dame received them with their proverbial hospitality. But at the Bishop's palace they learned that their brothers, the Franciscan Fathers, having landed a few days earlier, furnished with a Brief from Rome, had just established themselves in the town and that they (the Capuchins) would have to seek refuge elsewhere. This they did without delay. Our two immigrants at once took train to Ottawa, where they arrived on July 1, 1890.

The Archbishop of Ottawa, Mgr. J. T. Duhamel, proved to be, for the Capuchins, the true instrument of Providence, and it is to him that we owe our establishment in Canada. He received us

Arrival at Ottawa into his house like a father, lodged us in an old dilapidated hospital, where we passed the winter with our first scholastics, and gave us many proofs of his sincere affection right up to the time of his death (1909). But good as he was, the Archbishop dealt with the Capuchins on strictly business lines and only consented to accept their settlement in his diocese on conditions which appeared to us at that time exceptionally severe. The first was that we should not beg; the second that we should take charge of a parish; and the third that this parish should be in the country since those in the city could not be divided. They were dismayed by such conditions; for at first sight it seemed impossible to accept them. As was to be expected, therefore, they passed a very bad night. But the following morning, the good prelate informed them that there was a convent of Dominicans in the city and that they would do well to pay them a visit. This they did.

On arrival the Capuchins found the Dominicans sitting on the balcony of their presbytery taking their after dinner recreation. As they approached, the Fathers arose and threw their arms around them. It was the embrace of Francis and Dominic renewed once again, in Canada. The Capuchins **With the Dominicans** related to their new friends all their mishaps and their present anxieties. The latter reassured them: "Do not lose courage. The prospect of taking charge of a parish need not have any terrors for you. On the contrary, it will be your protection. If, in France, so many Curés are hostile to the religious Orders, it is because the latter receive so large a proportion of the alms of the faithful and monopolize the benefactors. With regard to settling in the country, you have reason to object. The name Capuchin is synonymous with confessor of great sinners. But this matter can be arranged. We have in our parish a certain part, not of very good repute. It is of little importance at present; but it will grow, as everything grows out here. We offer it to you. Accept it." These generous and encouraging words of the Dominicans must never be forgotten by the Capuchin sons of St. Francis.

The Archbishop to whom they immediately reported the news, was very pleased. Having considered it for awhile *in petto*, he consented and the proposal was put into effect. The three villages

Convent at Ottawa of Hintonburgh, Manchesterville and Mechanicsville were detached from the parish of Saint Jean Baptiste and erected into a new parish under the name of St. Francois d'Assise in honor of the new ministers.

Mgr. Duhamel, with his customary expedition in matters of business, purchased for us a fine site of six acres, on the Richmond Road in the open country and ordered the immediate construction of a small convent and a still more modest chapel. The work was performed with such energy that on March 1, 1891, after the blessing of the convent and the church, the friars, leaving their previous miserable abode, took possession. They were then fairly numerous. Actually, from 1890 to 1906, 22 Fathers, 55 students and 11 lay brothers came to Canada. But of these 88 French religious only about twelve are still in Canada. Of the others, some returned to their country and became victims of the war, some went to the Abyssinian Missions and some are dead.

Our first years in America were very hard. There was a lack of funds. The house, badly adapted to the climate, was the cause of fifteen of our young clerics dying of consumption or returning to France. Our only resources were our Mass stipends, offerings received for preaching, our services being in great demand and signally blessed by God; and finally the alms of the faithful which the Archbishop, in his great affection for us, eventually permitted us to solicit. As for the expenses of the institution, our good mother-country assumed the charge.

Nevertheless the parish of Saint Francois d'Assise grew day by day. Started in 1890 with 150 families, it has been divided three times and yet has to-day more than 900 families. The little chapel of the early days having become too small to accommodate the people was replaced, in 1916, by a magnificent temple which compares favorably with the finest religious edifices in Ottawa.

One thing was still needed to insure the future of our work. It was necessary to provide Canadian recruits for the Order. A Seraphic College was therefore founded at Ottawa on the site of the early buildings (April, 1908). It prospered so well that, in August, 1924, a new school erected on the site of the first chapel, with capacity for 80 children, plain but comfortable, was opened

The Seraphic College

and blessed amid general rejoicing. It is from this house that most of our Canadian religious have come; for, in spite of the sympathy extended to us by the people, the austerity of our life often affrights the seminarians and results in loss of vocations.

But it is time to conclude these notes regarding the Convent at Ottawa. It is sufficient to state that to-day (1936) our parochial work is prospering, we are popular with the people and there are in this district 43 Fraternities with 7000 members of the Third Order of Saint Francis.

The foundation of the Convent of Restigouche dates from October 12, 1894. The Mission of Sainte Anne constitutes the principal *Reservation* of the *Micmac* Indians who are scattered in little villages along the shores of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Mgr. **Convent of Restigouche** Blais, Bishop of Rimouski, who wished to protect the future of this tribe, threatened with extinction, persuaded us that it was our duty to resume the work of our ancestors, the missionaries of Acadia. There is one Capuchin, the Rev. Fr. Pacifique de Valigny, who has devoted his whole life to this thankless task. Alone, perhaps, among white men, he has a perfect knowledge of the tongue and history of these Indians. It is not too much to say that, by his numerous writings he has revived the national life of this people.

This does not mean that his brethren who, since 1894, have lived at Restigouche, have remained inactive. No. They have worked with an ardor truly apostolic in the parishes and missions, principally in the dioceses of Rimouski, Gaspé, Chatham etc., as is proved by the 40 Fraternities of the Third Order, established by them. By their constancy under trials, fires, etc., they have won the admiration of other communities.

Our readers will be grateful for the following information regarding the tribe of the Micmacs, drawn from a census, made in 1902, by the Rev. Fr. Pacific their *Patriarch* who visits them regularly each year: *Reservations in the Province of Quebec*: Restigouche, 506 inhabitants, Maria, 104; *Reservations in New Brunswick*: Big Cove, 323; Burnt Church, 223; Eel Ground, 155; Mill Brook, 93; Shubenacadie, 85; *In Nova Scotia*: Cape Breton; Whycocomagh, 122; Ecasoui, 117; Chapel Island, 104; Middle River, 97; *Presqu'île*: Fisher's Grant, 147; Afton, 85; Bear River, 80; *In Prince Edward Island*: Lennox Island, 224. *In Newfoundland*: Conn River, 130.

SUMMARY: Quebec, 640; New Brunswick, 1148; Prince Edward Island, 292; Nova Scotia and Presqu'île, 1393; Cape Breton, 605; Newfoundland, 230. (These figures are from the census of 1910. Total: 4319, which number has varied but little for several years.⁷

It is well known that the old city of Quebec is the real Capital of French Canada. For ten years the Capuchins sought admission to this town so fruitful in vocations. Finally, **Convent of** thanks to the good will of Mgr. Marois, V. G., and **Limoilou** the kindness of His Eminence Cardinal Begin, the gates of the Archdiocese were opened to them (1902).

They were entrusted with the parish of St. Charles de Limoilou which was in desperate plight bordering on bankruptcy. There were 257 families of the working class. The church, unfinished, was burdened with debt and the vacant lands were flooded every spring by the high water from the St. Lawrence. But God continued to test us before bestowing His blessing.

Twice our church and parish hall were destroyed by fire. Finally, our perseverance was rewarded, so well indeed that today our parish has become one of the finest in the city.

The reason for such a transformation must be sought not only in the intelligent zeal of our friars, but still more and especially in the remarkable growth of the Limoilou quarter, whose population has increased during the period of thirty years

Novitiate (1906-1935) from 1200 to 25,000 souls, giving birth to five other parishes from our's as the mother parish.

This convent which has prospered so well has housed our novices since 1903. This novitiate was inaugurated by the Rev. Fr. Leonard who died in December, 1934, in the odor of sanctity, having attained the age of 90 years. The Novitiate has prospered ever since the arrival, in August, 1912, of the first students from the Seraphic College, under the direction of the Rev. Fr. Etienne. The Fraternities dependent on the Convent of Limoilou number 32.

The sanctuary of La Réparation owes its origin to a Christian family from France, named Brisset des Nos, or rather to one member of that family, Mademoiselle de la Rousselière who died

⁷ Statistics of 1931 raise the number by 217, therefore to a total of 4,536, about 50 of whom are in Maine. Cf. P. Pacifique, *Etudes Hist. et Geograph.*, Restigouche, 1935, 279-280.

Convent of La Réparation in 1924 at the Carmel of Angers, France. She arranged for the building at her own expense, on the border of their grounds, a small chapel dedicated to the Sacred Heart where the pilgrims from Montreal might come to pray in reparation for the sins of men. This chapel was blessed in 1896. The place was ideal for lovers of peace and prayer under the shady trees of this natural park, far from the tumult of the busy city, a little too far perhaps to be easily accessible to the general public. It is to the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament that this shrine owes its success (1900). One of them, Fr. Jean was the chief agent in this noble enterprise. He expended \$80,000.00 and sacrificed his health in the work. To him we are indebted for the many beautiful monuments which excite our admiration to-day.

Sic vos non vobis aedificabitur apes! Unfortunately, however, these Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament having undertaken important foundations at Quebec, New York and Chicago and lacking sufficient subjects, decided to abandon La Réparation (1918).

Mgr. Bruchesi placed the shrine under the temporary administration of the curé of the neighbouring parish, Charlemagne (1919-1920). The work, however, had become too important to be thus abandoned, and, in the spring of 1921, he placed the Capuchin Fathers in charge. Immediately after their installation they proceeded to build a large convent for the use of their scholastics. Since that time the number of pious Christians who visit us every year in spite of the long distance and the snow which, in winter, cuts us off entirely from Montreal, is constantly increasing. It is very satisfactory to note that the number of pilgrims registered in our books, last year, was 130,000.

The usual course of such organized pilgrimages is as follows: About 11 a. m. the pilgrims assemble in the chapel for the preaching of the Holy Hour of Reparation. About 3 p. m. the Way of the Cross is made under the direction of one of the **Pilgrimages** Fathers, at the stations in the grove and is followed by Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. This constitutes a perpetual mission and a most fruitful one. The families present pass the rest of the day in the woods. Our young students have no contact with these strangers. An extensive garden of twenty acres heavily wooded and entirely enclosed

suffices for them, especially, as each summer they spend a month of vacation on the borders of a lake in the mountains.

Our latest foundation dates from 1925. It bears the name of the "Hermitage of St. Anthony, Lake Bouchette." Situated on the banks of Lake Bouchette, not far from the famous lake Saint John, in the diocese of Chicoutimi, in the solitude of a great forest, it is in process of establishing a place of pilgrimage. These regions are not very thickly populated and one hardly looks for it to attract great crowds. Moreover, this shrine is closed during the winter, while in summer only one Father aided by a few of the Brothers, has permanent residence there. The work, however, is prospering and slowly increasing. The pilgrims are becoming more and more numerous and it is hoped that in a few years a regular convent will be established there.

III

THE ORGANIZATION

When the Provincial Chapter met at Toulouse, in May, 1891, the Canadian foundation was erected into a provincial Vicariate, and its first Vicar-Provincial, the Rev. Fr. Louis-Marie de Lombez, was appointed at the same time as Guardian of the convent at Ottawa.

The scope of this article does not comprise the list of the Vicars-Provincial who held office in Canada up to this time. In any case this list would be of little interest to our American readers.

Suffice it to say that, by a decree of March 6, 1934, **Personnel** the Vicariate Provincial of Canada, was erected into a Commissariat Provincial for Eastern Canada. This Commissariat comprises the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Quebec, Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa and Kingston.

By another decree of June 30, 1934, the Very Rev. Fr. Marie-Louis de Riotord was appointed Commissary Provincial with the assistance of two counsellors. The following are our statistics for 1936:

Provincial Council: Very Rev. Fr. Marie-Louis de Riotord, Commissary Provincial; Very Rev. Fr. Flavien of Quebec, I Assistant-Provincial; Very Rev. Fr. Victor of Saint-Sebastian, II Assistant-Provincial.

Convent of La Réparation: Rev. Fr. Louis of Ottawa, Guardian; 69 Religious.

Convent of Ottawa: Rev. Fr. Euchariste of Cheticamp, Guardian; 24 Religious.

Convent of Restigouche: Rev. Fr. Venance of Notre-Dame du Lac, Guardian; 13 Religious.

Convent of Quebec: Rev. Fr. Albert of Saint-Felix, Guardian; 22 Religious.

Hermitage of Lake Bouchette: Rev. Fr. Casimir de Cieutat, President. Total number of Capuchins in the Commissariat of Eastern Canada:

(1) In Canada. 45 Fathers.	(2) In Ethiopia: 3 Fathers.
44 Clerics.	3 Brothers.
39 Brothers.	

Total: 134 Religious.

IV

THE BELGIAN FATHERS

The French Capuchins are not alone in Canada. Since 1927, our Belgian Brethren, anxious to assist their countrymen in particular, and also the Catholics of different nationalities in Western Canada, have established several foundations

Personnel which will certainly grow in the near future. Here are their names and the names of their institutions:

The Sacred Heart, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Very Rev. Fr. Chrysostome, Provincial, — Delegate; Rev. Fathers Damase, Eleuthère, and Mansuet.

Blenheim, Ontario, diocese of London: Rev. Frs. Polycarp, Superior, Ladislas, Emmanuel and Marius.

Toutes-Aide, Manitoba, diocese of Winnipeg: Rev. Frs. Pierre, Pastor, and Gêrulphe. In addition to these houses, the Fathers serve several other missions.

DISCUSSION

FR. JOHN LENHART, O.M.Cap.:—As founder of the Capuchin Comisariat of Canada, Fr. Alexis, O.M.Cap., was best fitted to treat this subject. In addition to what he has so well said I should like to mention that the

**Supplementary
Remarks**

Acadian Mission embraced also the State of Maine, where the missionaries worked for the conversion of the Abenakis. Regarding Mgr. de Charbonnel it is noteworthy that after retiring from his diocese and becoming a Capuchin he was raised to the dignity of Titular Archbishop.

Stress must also be laid on the great services he rendered the American Church by spreading the Society of the Propagation of the Faith in France. Again, for the sake of completeness, mention should be made of Fr. Columban Messner, of Ried, Capuchin of the Tyrolese Province, who labored faithfully among the German settlers of St. Clement's, Waterloo County, Province of Ontario and diocese of Hamilton, from 1852 till his death in 1867. A church which he built there was noted for artistic beauty.

NEW FRANCE, III

THE CAPUCHINS OF LOWER LOUISIANA

FR. CLAUDE VOGEL, O.M.Cap., Ph.D.

The subject of this paper falls naturally into two major divisions corresponding to the French and Spanish Dominations. A third division dealing with the Capuchin, Father Antonio de Sedella, seems also in place, for it is in him that interest mainly centers throughout and beyond the Spanish Domination. Since the first Capuchin came to Louisiana in 1722 and the last one died there in 1829, our treatise will cover a little more than one hundred years of Capuchin history.¹

PART I

THE FRENCH DOMINATION

When the Capuchins came to Louisiana, the settlement was nearly twenty years old. On April 9, 1682, La Salle had planted the cross at the mouth of the Mississippi and in the name of France had taken possession of all the territory drained by its waters. To this vast territory which, roughly speaking, comprised the regions on both sides of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, he gave the name *Louisiane* in honor of King Louis XIV of France. Although the king wished to colonize the new region, he made no serious attempt until 1699 when Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, victor over the English at Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, was chosen for the task.

D'Iberville sailed from France in October, 1698, reached the mouth of the Mississippi on March 2, 1699, and on April 5, began building Fort Maurepas on the bay which he called Biloxi after the Indians living in the vicinity. Before returning to France in May, 1699, D'Iberville appointed Sauvole, a young French officer,

¹ Part I of this paper is based on the writer's: *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, New York, 1928, except where footnotes indicate new research.

commander of the fort, and his own brother Bienville lieutenant or second in command. When on August 22, 1701, Sauvole died, Bienville became governor of the colony.

From the very beginning the spiritual interests of the colonists received consideration. Anastase Douay, a Recollect, had accompanied D'Iberville on his first voyage to Louisiana, but weary of the unsettled life, he soon returned to France.

Early Ecclesiastical Status In 1699, a Rev. M. Bordenhave acted as chaplain at Fort Biloxi, but was soon replaced by the Jesuit, Du Ru, who arrived from France on January 8, 1700. Although chaplain of the French garrison, Du Ru labored among various Indian tribes, notably, the Natchez, Bayagoulas, Taensas and Houmas. In 1700 and 1701, Fathers Limoges and Gravier, two Jesuits, also came to Biloxi. In 1701, D'Iberville returned to the colony and presently ordered the removal of the capital to Mobile, some eighteen leagues or about fifty-four miles from the sea. The new settlement was called Fort Louis de la Mobile. But Biloxi, the old fort, was not entirely abandoned, for Bienville left there Boisbriant with twenty men to reclaim the land for cultivation. In 1702 we find Father Dongé, Jesuit, supplanting Du Ru at Biloxi and at Mobile.

About this time also the Priests of the Foreign Mission Seminary began to appear on the scene. As early as May 1, 1698, Bishop Saint-Vallier of Quebec, to whom as the nearest French bishop the colony was subject, had authorized these priests to establish missions among the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley. They were attached to the Seminary at Quebec which was affiliated to the Foreign Mission Priests of Paris. These priests ministering to the Indian tribes in the Valley eventually found their way to the French settlements of Biloxi and Mobile. In fact, it was the Rev. Roulleaux de la Vente of the Foreign Missions who became the first canonical pastor of Mobile when the Bishop of Quebec erected a parish there on July 20, 1703. Father Alexander Huvé became the curate, and both he and de la Vente continued in their offices, the former till 1721 and the latter till 1710.²

² Hamilton, Peter J., *Colonial Mobile*, New York, 1897, 62. Delanglez, Jean, S. J., *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 65.

From 1712-1717, Crozat, a French millionaire, had been given a monopoly of trade in Louisiana. It was hoped that commerce with the Spanish, the Indians and the French themselves would assure the success of the colony. But the contrary **The Company of the Indies** resulted and Crozat relinquished his privilege in 1717. It was then that the Company of the West, later called the Company of the Indies, was formed, which, though subject to the King, was practically plenipotentiary in the colony. In farming out Louisiana the Crown stipulated that the Company build churches and maintain a sufficient number of missionaries so that all the inhabitants, including the French, the Indians and the Negroes, be instructed in the Catholic faith.

In compliance with this article of agreement we see the Company in 1720 issuing letters patent to missionaries to Louisiana. It was all the more necessary to increase the missionary personnel since the founding of New Orleans between **Letters Patent for Missionaries** 1718 and 1720 had increased the number of posts and settlers. The first of the letters patent seems to have been issued on November 20, 1718, for Father Bonaventure O'Donoghue.³ Another on June 20, 1719, was in favor of Father Rene François Guérin.⁴ On March 1, 1720, letters patent were issued for the Carmelites, Fathers of St. Martin, of St. Alexis and of Mary Magdalene.⁵ In the Propaganda Archives⁶ there is a document stating that on May 28, 1720, Father Antonio Oudeardo, Minor Conventual, departing as chaplain for Louisiana, requested letters patent as missionary. There seems to be no evidence that this Conventual did missionary work in Louisiana. He may have acted as a chaplain on ship. On October 17, 1721, a commission as chaplain and missionary in Louisiana was issued for Fathers Macé and Antoine Le Monier.⁷

It is interesting to note that as soon as the Carmelites were accepted for Louisiana, they applied directly to Rome for a Brief of Apostolic Prefecture which was issued on June 3, 1720. Father

³ Paris, Archives des Colonies, B 42 bis, 265. Hereafter cited AC.

⁴ AC., 299.

⁵ AC., B 42 bis, 315.

⁶ *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, I, f. 99.

⁷ AC., B 43, 78.

The Carmelite Prefecture

James of St. Martin was appointed prefect with faculties *ad septennium*.⁸ The latter departed for the mission from the city of Dieppe in the latter part of 1720, but by March 17, 1721, he had died. His successor was Father John Matthew of St. Anne,⁹ who came to Louisiana in 1720. The old Baptismal Register of Mobile shows Fr. Matthew's signature under date of January 18, 1721. Mobile, however, was not the first scene of his labors in the new world, for the first Marriage Register at New Orleans bears his signature to a marriage there as early as October 22, 1720. He signs himself *Jean Mathieu de Sta Anna, Curé de Vieux Biloxi*. On April 18, 1721, we find the signature of another Carmelite, Father Charles, signing as Curé of the Apalachees, an Indian tribe converted by the Spanish Franciscans. On January 9, 1722, Father Matthew of St. Anne began to sign himself not only as *Pretre religieux missionnaire, apostolique*, but as *Vicaire Apostolique et Curé de la Mobile*. By what authority he assumed the title of Vicar Apostolic is not altogether clear.¹⁰

But with all the missionary efforts, religion was at a low ebb, for the people seemed to profit little by its wholesome teachings. This sad condition might be partially explained by the fact that

Coming of the Capuchins

as the result of the extravagant advertisement of the Company of the Indies many undesirables of France were enticed to emigrate to the colony. Indeed, while at first decrees of banishment to Louisiana were issued in favor of criminals, later decrees, e. g., of May 9 and 22, 1720, recognized the mistake and forbade the "transportation of vagabonds and criminals to Louisiana."¹¹ Little wonder that when the Bishop of Quebec was apprised of the sad plight of religion in this part of his diocese, he issued a stirring pastoral on July 9, 1721, deploring the general disregard for religion and morality. Hoping to remedy the evil, he called upon all who had the care of souls to apply drastic means to suppress vice and irreligion and to refuse the sacraments to public sinners until public penance be performed.¹² Perhaps it was this trenchant appeal of the disheartened Bishop that moved the Directors of

⁸ *Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1720, ff. 308-309, no. 13, June 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1722, 138, no. 25.

¹⁰ Shea, *The Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, 565, confuses Fr. Matthew with a Norman Capuchin.

¹¹ AC., A 23:28.

¹² Shea, *op. cit.*, 560.

the Company to negotiate with Bishop Mornay, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec and Vicar General of the Louisiana Mission.¹³

It is stated by Shea¹⁴ that in 1717, the Company had applied to Bishop Mornay for missionaries for Louisiana and that the latter offered the field to the French Capuchins of Champagne. But the Province of Champagne lacked men at the time and the mission was refused. If it be true that the Capuchins declined the mission at so early a date, their refusal might explain why the Company appealed to the Carmelites in 1720. Be this as it may, on April 13, 1722, the Capuchin Provincial of Champagne petitioned Propaganda for a Prefecture in Louisiana representing that the King of France had requested Capuchins for that mission. The Secretary of the Propaganda says in part:

The Procurator General of the Capuchins on the part of Father Nicholas of Chaumont, Provincial of the Province of Champagne in France, sets forth that the Most Christian King, with the advice of the Duke Regent, has asked him for French Capuchins who shall be sent to the Island of Louisiana, commonly called Misissipy in America, to spread there the holy faith and to administer the sacraments to those Catholics who are there. He begs, therefore, Your Eminence to deign to declare himself and his successors, the Provincials pro temp., as Prefects of said mission of Louisiana, and all religious who are sent there as Apostolic Missionaries, in the same form as is done regarding the Provincials of the four other Provinces of France, and with the same faculties and privileges which are granted to them.¹⁵

The Secretary of the Propaganda then reminded their Eminences of the Carmelite Prefecture erected in 1720. But before committing themselves in this matter the cardinals ordered that the Nuncio at Paris be first consulted. This was done and the

¹³ Bishop Mornay, Louis François de Plessis, was born at Vannes, Brittany, in 1663. Entered the Capuchin Order at Amiens Aug. 18, 1682. Lector in theology at Beauvais, 1697; Guardian at Marais (Paris), 1700; at Pointois, 1701-1702; at Meudon, 1710-1713. Held in high esteem at Court and preached the funeral oration for the Dauphin. On June 22, 1713, nominated by Louis XIV to the Coadjutorship of Quebec and Auxiliary to Bishop Saint-Vallier. In January, 1714, preconized Bishop of Eumenia in *partibus infidelium* and consecrated April 15, 1714, by Cardinal de Rohan in the Capuchin Church of St. Honoré, Paris. As Auxiliary to Bishop Saint-Vallier he had care of the Louisiana Mission. It can hardly be to his credit that he never came to Louisiana but exercised his influence from Paris. Fear of the ocean voyage is said to have deterred his coming to America. In 1729, he succeeded to the See of Quebec but resigned in 1733. He died November 28, 1741. Cf. Tanguay, Cyprien, *Repertoire General du Clerge Canadien*. Montreal, 1893, 6. *Mid-America*, I, New Series, April 30, 1930, 296-305.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 564.

¹⁵ *Atti*, 1722, f. 138, no. 25.

Nuncio refused to recommend the prefecture on the ground that "there are enough missionaries on the spot." Later, probably about 1740, the Congregation of Propaganda granted the Capuchin Provincials of Champagne the faculties refused in 1722.¹⁶

There now followed the official ecclesiastical partitioning of the Mississippi Valley. On May 16, 1722, the Commissioners of the Council with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec divided the

province of Louisiana into three ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The first comprised all the district to the west of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the point of entry of the Ouabache (Wabash, affluent of the Ohio)

River. The churches and missions of this district were given in charge to the Capuchins, whose superior was to reside in New Orleans and be Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec. The second district was that extending over all the country above the Ohio River. It was given to the Jesuits and their superior residing in Illinois was to be Vicar General in this district. The third district included all the territory to the east of the Mississippi, and it was assigned to the Carmelites, whose superior residing in Mobile, was the Vicar General for this territory.¹⁷

As we know, the Jesuits and the Carmelites had already settled in their districts, but the Carmelites had hardly begun their work in Louisiana when Bishop Mornay had them recalled to France.

There seems to have been no objection to them other than their direct appeal to Rome for a decree of prefecture which in those days of Gallicism was not acknowledged in France. "You are not ignorant of what I have done to have the Carmelites recalled who had gone there (Louisiana) and of their own accord obtained a Brief of Vicar Apostolic, which as you know, we do not acknowledge in France. I wrote to the officers of the Company and to the Bishop of Quebec concerning this matter only after it was over."¹⁸

On May 16, 1722, the commissioners of the Company issued a

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 410-411, no. 31. *Bullarium Ord. FF. Min. Capucinatorum*, Romae, 1752, VII, 329. "Tum felicius ut hoc suo officio Capucini fungantur . . . Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide solitis et convenientibus facultatibus per suos pro tempore PP. Provinciales munit."

¹⁷ AC., C13A, 10, 296.

¹⁸ Mornay to Raguet, Dec. 8, 1726. AC., C13A, 10, 35-36.

Decree for the Capuchins

decree in favor of the Capuchins and their missionary district. After referring to the right of patronage accorded the Company by the warrant of the King in 1717, the decree continues:

It being necessary to make provisions to this end, We have believed that, to establish religion solidly in the colony and to work there successfully for the glory of God, We cannot make a better choice than the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Champagne who have shown so much zeal for that mission that we cannot doubt that they will acquit themselves most worthily and will furnish the necessary number of religious. Wherefore, we have agreed upon and have accepted Father Bruno de Langres, Father Christopher of Chaumont, Father Philibert of Viander, and Brother Eusebius of Chaumont, to establish under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec a convent of their Order at New Orleans, situated on the St. Louis (Mississippi) River, in the land of Louisiana, to perform through the superior of the convent the pastoral functions in the town.¹⁹

The decree continues ordering the erection of a parish church, a house for religious and all things necessary for religious worship and for the maintenance of the Capuchins. They are to receive clothing "according to their Rule" and sustenance as follows:

For each religious, one cask of Bordeaux wine, two quarts of flour, one half quarter of bacon, one half quarter of beef, one half quart of brandy, twenty-five lbs. of large beans, or like quantity of peas and "*fayols*," eight lbs. of Holland or *Gruyere* cheese, twenty-four lbs. of candles, one half lb. of pepper, twenty pots of vinegar, twenty-five lbs. of salt and twelve lbs. of olive oil.²⁰

By a second decree of December 19, 1722, the commissioners bestowed on the Capuchins the Mobile district belonging formerly to the Carmelites who had now returned to France. In tone this

Decree of

December 19, 1722

decree is similar to that of the May 16, placing the Capuchins in full possession of all rights and ordering the building of a church and convent at Mobile for three or four religious.²¹

But later in December, 1723, the Company, without even consulting the Bishop of Quebec, fixed the boundary of the Capuchin mission at Natchez instead of at the Wabash River, giving the region between Natchez and the Wabash to the Jesuits. This was done after the Company discovered that a Jesuit missionary was being paid by the King for the Yazoo post which was in this section.²²

¹⁹ AC., B 43, 108-111.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ AC., F5A, 3, 169.

²² Delanglez, *op. cit.*, 99.

On the other hand the Company says it made the change because it feared the Capuchins would not be able to send a sufficient number of missionaries. This fear was well founded since at various times in this French period the superiors of the Louisiana Mission appealed to their Provincial for additional missionaries. Nevertheless, the Capuchins were alarmed at this latest division and fearing to lose more demanded an assurance that no more would be taken. Accordingly, the Company in its decree of June 27, 1725, assured them the parishes and missions in the new boundaries "shall be filled under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, or under that of his coadjutor, by the Capuchin Fathers of Champagne, without whose consent no other religious or priests shall be sent or established there."²³ Then, acting on the request of the Bishop of Quebec, the Company took steps to secure for the Capuchins a Royal Warrant which was issued on July 15, 1725.²⁴

The first Capuchins arrived in New Orleans in 1722. The superior of the little group of friars was Father Bruno of Langres and his first entry in the Marriage Register at New Orleans is dated December 8, 1722.²⁵ Of him we have a letter dated at Nantes, March 16, 1722, in which he appeals to the Director of the Company for the warrant of the King and for other necessities.²⁶ After May 3, 1723, the name of Father Bruno occurs no more in the parochial Registers of New Orleans.

In the spring of 1723, Father Raphael of Luxemburg arrived as the new superior and Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec. On September 7, 1723, he wrote a long letter to Abbé Raguét, the Ecclesiastical Director of the Company of the Indies.

Appalling The picture which he draws of those first days of the
Conditions Louisiana Mission was anything but encouraging. He says that when he arrived in New Orleans he could hardly find a room to shelter himself and his brethren, much less a church or chapel for worship. Although the orders to the commissioners were plain and imperative, nevertheless no action was taken to erect the church and convent. For six months the friars had at New Orleans only a small room which served as

²³ AC., A 23, 60-61.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 63. *Bullarium Ord. FF. Min. Cap.*, VII, 329.

²⁵ The first 11 records of marriages beginning July 1, 1720-November 9, 1720, are signed by Prothais Boyer, Recollect.

²⁶ *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, II, 295 f.

chapel and kitchen, another room to lodge four religious and a third to store provisions and effects. Then there was scant provision for livelihood, for rare and small were the offerings made for Masses. In time of illness the friars had not the wherewithal to purchase a few eggs. In general, the rations allowed by the Company did not accord with the fatigue the missionaries endured in visiting the sick by day and night "generally in mud knee-deep."

Father Raphael then gives us the following account as to the state of religion:

Almost all the inhabitants live in the most scandalous conditions, and in such a profound ignorance of the truths of our holy religion, that they may be said to be ignorant even of the first elements. No Easter Communion, no attendance at divine service, although we do all we can to attract them, both in public and in private. Those who wish to keep up a show of religion content themselves with a low Mass on Sundays and holy days and carefully avoid any where there is a word of preaching.²⁷

The complaint of Father Raphael on behalf of his missionaries was not altogether fruitless. On February 16, 1724, the Directors of the Company met and decided that each Capuchin be given the choice of either taking an annual salary of six hundred livres or of abiding by the original contract which provided payment in produce.²⁸ The official Report on the status of the Church in Louisiana dated December 20, 1724, shows that the Capuchins chose the salary of six hundred livres.²⁹

The first church in New Orleans, according to Villiers,³⁰ was started in 1724, two years after the arrival of the Capuchins. On April 3, 1728, Raguet wrote to De la Chaise, the commissary:

The First Church at New Orleans "I am very much pleased that the new church is in the condition you described. I trust the Company will grant the means to decorate it."³¹ Thus after years of waiting the missionaries could rejoice in the presence of a church destined to become

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 297.

²⁸ AC., C13A, 11, 217.

²⁹ The livre equalled about 19c., hence the missionaries' annual salary was \$114.00. The expense account of New Orleans, December 20, 1724, was as follows: Fathers Raphael, Hyacinth and Gaspar, 600 livres each; 72 jugs of Mass wine; 30 lbs. of flour for Altar Bread; 80 lbs. of wax for candles; 30 lbs. of soap for washing the church; 180 lbs. of beef—15 lbs. per month—408 lbs. of flour—34 lbs., per month—for the maintenance of one domestic; etc. The other stations received similar allowances. AC., D2D, 10.

³⁰ Villiers, Marc de, *A History of the Foundation of New Orleans*. Trans. by Warrington Dawson. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, III, April, 1920, 240.

³¹ AC., C13A, 11, 231.

the center of colonial life in Louisiana. Chambon³² says of the church:

When New Orleans completed its first decade of existence, the St. Louis Parish Church was the only redeeming feature of the city. Although it was comparatively a small and poorly decorated church, its spire towered over the other buildings with somewhat of majesty. The Capuchins' residence stood at its left, the Guard House at its right. In front of its porch the *Place d'Armes* enfolded a square of green, through which two diagonal alleys led to the harbor. The homes of the colonial officials and commercial potentates were mostly situated on the water front or along Chartres Street. The *Place d'Armes* and its surroundings were then the fashionable quarters.

The establishment of a school in New Orleans as early as 1725 speaks well for the zeal of the Capuchins. The following letter dated September 15, 1725, addressed to Raguet shows Father Raphael's interest in this matter:

I have asked the Gentlemen of the Company for primers to teach reading to the children, but instead they have sent me a box of catechisms which we don't need since we brought a large quantity with us from France. I ask you, therefore, to give orders so that they will send us sufficient copies both of primers for beginners and elementary books and grammars which are necessary for those who would study Latin. I see that most of the inhabitants are in a disposition to profit by the establishment of the school for the education of their children. I believe that many will succeed, especially among the Creoles, who have a good memory and are very alert. I have good evidence of this during the short time that our school is in operation.³³

Writing to Raguet on August 31, 1727, the Bishop of Quebec said: "The establishment of a school by the Capuchin Fathers shows that they are full of zeal for the instruction and education of the families."³⁴ The first teacher in the Capuchin school was Brother St. Julien,³⁵ lay brother. Later he was succeeded by Cyril, a Capuchin deacon.³⁶ The greatest difficulty regarding the establishment of the school was to secure a house suitable for this purpose. Father Raphael had purchased a house for this purpose and had been promised financial assistance from two influential men, De Lery and De la Freniere. As these two men failed to meet their obligations, there was danger for a time that the Capuchins would be assessed for the entire debt. Later in 1740, a rather elaborate plan was drawn up for a substantial school build-

³² *In and around the Old St. Louis Cathedral*, New Orleans, 1908, 21.

³³ AC., C13A, 8, 413.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, B 43, 644.

³⁴ AC., C13A, 10, 305.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, B 43, 775.

ing in New Orleans, but as it was impossible to obtain the services of the Christian Brothers, the plan was dropped.³⁷

Another school started in the early days of the colony was that of the Ursulines. Due to the efforts of Father De Beaubois, Jesuit missionary in Illinois, the services of the Ursulines of Rouen were obtained for New Orleans. On September 13, 1726,

The Ursuline School a contract was signed by the Ursulines and the Company and approved by the King on September 18. Six Sisters were to be maintained by the Com-

pany and they were to maintain a school and manage the domestic affairs of a hospital. The Ursulines arrived in New Orleans on August 17, 1727. These good Sisters shared alike with the missionaries the hardships resulting from the indifference and tardiness of the Company in living up to its agreements. A convent had been promised the Sisters within six months but it was finished only in 1734, seven years after their arrival. In the meantime the Sisters opened a school in a small house and began the glorious work they have continued for more than two hundred years.

New Orleans, the capital of the colony, was naturally the headquarters of the missionaries. Here they reported on arrival from France. From the cathedral records of New Orleans and also

Mission Stations from the official Reports sent from time to time to France we gather that at least thirty-three Capuchin priests came to Louisiana during the French Domination.³⁸ Aside from New Orleans, these Fathers worked in the following stations:

After the founding of New Orleans, Mobile naturally suffered from the emigration to the Mississippi, but still continued a wholesome development. The first Capuchin signature to appear in the

Mobile Mobile Register is that of Father Claude who seems to have been here from 1723-1726. Between 1726 and 1756, we find in the Registers the signatures of the fol-

³⁷ Delanglez, *op. cit.*, 291.

³⁸ Bruno of Langres; Christopher of Chaumont; Philibert of Viander; Raphael of Luxemburg; Hyacinth of Verdun; Gaspar; Theodore of Besancon; Claude; Mathias of Sedan; Philip of Luxemburg; Maximin; Eustache; Materne; Peter; Valentine; Ferdinand; Charles of Rambervilliers; Charles of Avranches; Bartholomew of Luxemburg; Anselm of Langres; George of Fauquemont; Ireneas of Bertrix; Barnabas; Stanislaus; Sebastian; Seraphin; Jean Francois; Archange; Prosper; Cecile; Remis; Dagobert of Longuy; Hilary of Genevaux. Maximin, Carmelite, and Victorin Dupuy, Recollect, also worked with the Capuchins.

lowing Capuchins: Mathias of Sedan, Jean Francois, Prosper, Agnan, Felix, Armand, Seraphin, Peter, Hilary, Barnabas, Sebastian. In 1756, the pastorphism of the Capuchin Father Ferdinand begins and outlasts the cession of Mobile to England in 1763. His last signature is dated 1773.

The Apalachees were an Indian tribe from Florida and had been converted by the Spanish Franciscans. About 1704, they settled near St. Martin's River, some three miles above Mobile. It is significant that the very first entry in the Mobile Baptismal Register records the baptism of a little Apalachee girl on September 6, 1704, by Father Davion. Fathers Claude, Capuchin, Victorin, Recollect, Prosper, Capuchin, worked successively among these Indians.

About two hundred miles from New Orleans in the present State of Mississippi, or as the colonists reckoned, one hundred leagues up the river, was Fort Rosalie, more commonly called Natchez after the Indians living there. In 1727 there was still no church, although this settlement was older than New Orleans. The first Capuchin to minister here seems to have been Father Christopher of Chaumont. He was succeeded by Fathers Philibert and Eustache. In 1729, occurred the terrible Indian massacre in which most of the French inhabitants were killed. The missionary Fr. Philibert, however, escaped.

The post called Balize was founded about 1722 at the mouth of the Mississippi and was to serve as a defense for the river's entrance, and as a guide to French vessels ascending the river. In 1724, Father Philibert of Viander was at this post. He was succeeded by Fathers Gaspar and Archange. The inhabitants were mostly soldiers, workingmen and Negroes. Father Raphael, the Capuchin Superior, visited this post in 1726 and said:

This post lacks practically everything that is necessary for life, and to obtain which you must pay two and three times more than elsewhere, unless you can draw from the magazine. The island does not produce a blade other than sparse reed. It is so narrow that there is no place to cultivate a garden, and where space is available, the ground is covered with sea salt that burns up everything.³⁹

Les Allemans was the post settled by a group of sturdy Germans

³⁹ AC., C13A, 10, 44.

who came to Louisiana at the invitation of John Law in 1720. Bienville offered them the rich alluvial lands on the right bank of the Mississippi about twenty-three miles above New Orleans. To stem the Indians the government put a post there under command of Karl d'Aransbourg. The settlement was also called the German Coast. The following Capuchins ministered here: Philip, Peter, Prosper and Barnabas.

The Natchitoches were a tribe of Caddo Indians living on the coast of the Red River about two hundred miles above New Orleans. In 1718, Bienville established Fort St. John Baptist in the vicinity. A garrison of soldiers was kept here and the colonists were encouraged to settle here to cultivate the land. In 1728, Father Maximin ministered here but a church was built here only in 1737. The following Capuchins served this station: Jean Francois, Archange, Dagobert, Barnabas, Eustache, Valentine and Stanislaus.⁴⁰

The settlement of Pointe Coupée began about forty miles from the river Iberville and extended twenty miles on the west side of the Mississippi. Here the French built a fort. The fertility of the soil brought many colonists. In 1726, the Capuchin Fr. Raphael visited this point and recommended to the authorities that Pointe Coupée be made a central station whence missionaries should minister to the Bascagoulas and the Houmas. In 1738, the Capuchin Fr. Anselm of Longres built a chapel under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi. In 1750, there were 100 Catholic families at this post. In 1765, Father Watrin, a Jesuit, speaks of a large and neat church with the Capuchin Father Ireneas as pastor.

In addition to these posts Father Raphael was anxious to minister to various tribes of Indians, notably, the Tonicas, Taensas, Bayagoulas and Chapitoulas. As the Company was not very anxious to support a missionary for these posts, it seems that little was undertaken by the missionaries. Father Watrin says of the Chapitoulas: "A few leagues above New Orleans a curé was formerly established for the instruction of some inhabitants living there. The district was called the

⁴⁰ Bolton, H. E., *Athanase De Mezières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780*, Cleveland, 1914, 134.

Chapitoulas.”⁴¹ The Report of 1728, says that Father Theodore of Besancon and later Father Charles attended this mission.

When Father De Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Illinois, went to France in 1725 to obtain Ursulines for the school and hospital, he negotiated a new treaty with the Company. By

virtue of this treaty signed on February 20, 1726,
Coming of the the Jesuits were placed in charge of the Indian
Jesuits to Missions in the Capuchin district and the Su-
New Orleans perior of the Jesuits was permitted to reside in
 New Orleans on condition that he perform no

ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchin Superior. The Capuchins, mindful of the Company's guarantee, that no other religious would be admitted into their district, and recalling also the curtailment of their mission in favor of the Jesuits in December, 1723, looked upon this new Jesuit acquisition as a further encroachment on the Capuchin district. Hence from the time that this latest treaty was put into effect there was friction which lasted till 1735, when Father De Beaubois, first Jesuit Superior in New Orleans, returned to France.

Later a new occasion for discord arose when Bishop Pointbriand in 1741, appointed a Jesuit Vicar General for both the Jesuit and Capuchin districts. The Capuchins at first recognized the Jesuit Vicar General, but after some years they harked back to their treaty with the Company guaranteeing that no other religious should be introduced into the Capuchin jurisdiction. The attitude of most of the French Capuchins toward the episcopal appointment of the Jesuits cannot be condoned nor explained save on the ground of an excessive Gallicanism that does no credit to its victims. The case was finally taken to Rome and was still pending when the banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana made a decision unnecessary. However, in the face of the persecution which the Jesuits suffered in being exiled from Louisiana, the Capuchins forgot their old grievance and accorded their fellow-missionaries sympathy and help. We read in the *Jesuit Relations*:

Meanwhile, the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, hearing of the arrival of the Jesuits [at New Orleans], had come at six o'clock in the evening (it was the

⁴¹ "Memoir on the Louisiana Missions" in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XVII (1900), 89. Further data on these Mission Stations in Vogel, Claude, O.M.Cap., *op. cit.*, 40-68. Bullarium Ord. FF. Min. Cap., VII, 328-330.

21st of December) to the landing-place, to manifest to them the interest that they took in their misfortune, and their intention of rendering them all the kind offices that they could. This was to the Jesuits an urgent motive to go, the next morning, to thank these Fathers, who received them with all the demonstrations by which charity can make itself known. They begged them not to take their meals anywhere else but with them. The Capuchin Fathers could not lodge them in the house where they were; they had rented it, and they themselves were not all lodged there. But the Jesuits took a neighboring house, accepting with great joy the invitation that had been given to them; and during the six weeks which elapsed before they embarked, there were no marks of friendship which they did not receive from these Reverend Fathers. Touched by deep gratitude, they wished to show it in some manner, and found means for doing so. Their books at New Orleans had been spared to them by provision of the decree issued against them; these formed a little library, valuable in a country newly established, and they prayed the Capuchin Fathers to accept it.⁴²

This concludes the relation concerning the Capuchins in Lower Louisiana during the French Domination from 1722-1763, a period of forty-one years. We now pass to the second period in this history when Louisiana was subject to Spain.

PART II

THE SPANISH DOMINATION

1763-1803

In 1763, at the close of the French and Indian War, which was merely the American phase of the Seven Years' War abroad, the treaty of peace signed at Paris affected Louisiana profoundly. By virtue of this treaty Canada and all French territory east of the Mississippi was ceded to England, while New Orleans and the western half of the Mississippi Valley were transferred to Spain. Contrary to all expectation, the King of Spain made no haste to take possession of Louisiana but allowed three years to pass before even sending an emissary of the Crown.

At length on March 5, 1766, Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived in New Orleans and began to introduce the Spanish rule through Aubry, the French governor. With Ulloa came two Spanish

⁴² *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, LXX (Cleveland, 1900), 289.

First Capuchins, Fathers Antonio de Mesones and Clement
Spanish de Saldana. One of these Capuchins accompanied
Capuchins the military expedition which Ulloa had sent to the
 mouth of the Missouri River to establish forts. The
 expedition was made up of forty-four soldiers under
 the command of Ruiz Jefe. The eleventh instruction of Ulloa
 was that Mass be said ashore before day on Sundays and on holy
 days of obligation and that all should attend. At the conclusion
 of the Mass the *Salve* was to be chanted as customary on the war-
 ships of Spain. At night after pulling up, or in the boats them-
 selves before pulling up, the rosary was to be recited.⁴³ It was
 probably on this occasion that Mass was first said by a Spanish
 priest on the bank of the Mississippi.

But neither Ulloa nor the two Spanish Capuchins were per-
 mitted to remain long in Louisiana. The French, whose hearts
 were attached to their mother country, were loath to submit to the

The French Spanish yoke and in October, 1768, rose in rebellion
Rebellion and forced Ulloa and his party to embark for Spain.

This insult was not allowed to pass unavenged. In
 August of 1769, Alexander O'Reilly, the second
 Spanish governor arrived with three thousand men, and on
 October 25 of the same year executed La Freniere, the Attorney
 General, and his accomplices in the conspiracy.

O'Reilly, now master of the scene, began to study the civil and
 religious situation of the colony. With the change of government

Change of a change of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had also
Ecclesiastical come, for by royal decree the Spanish King aggre-
Jurisdiction gated the Church of the Mississippi Valley to the
 nearest Spanish prelate, James Joseph Echaverria,
 Bishop of Santiago de Cuba. The official notifi-
 cation of Charles III follows:

Reverend in Christ, Father, Bishop of the Cathedral Church of Santiago de
 Cuba, and of my Council:

By the Royal Cedula which on this date is addressed to the Governor and
 Captain General of the Island and City of Havana, and of which the latter will
 hand you a copy, as I command him to do, you will be informed very minutely
 of the royal decisions which I have deemed well to make for the better govern-
 ment and establishment of Louisiana and of the city of New Orleans; more-
 over, since it is my royal intention that everywhere the dispositions they
 contain be carried out, I have for this reason resolved to inform you for

⁴³ Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I (Chicago, 1908), 4.

your own knowledge, and I entreat and command you (as I do now), that in the use of your jurisdiction and pastoral ministry in the aforesaid Province and city, you promote all that you consider conducive to the best government and spiritual good of this new parish, as I entrust it to your love and zeal for my royal service; and that you render me an account of what occurs and of what you consider most necessary for the betterment of those natives, as such is my will.

Done at San Ildefonso, August 17, 1762.

I, the King.⁴⁴

From the date on which this decree was published, we see that the King had made the ecclesiastical transfer even before he took actual possession of Louisiana. The solemn tone of the style is significant of the royal right of patronage accorded the Spanish kings by the Holy See. With what reverence the Bishop received the royal decisions we learn from the following Act recorded after the receipt of the royal cedula:

In the city of Havana, on the thirtieth day of October, 1762, the Most Illustrious Lord, Sr. D. Santiago José de Echevarria y Elguera, Bishop of the holy Cathedral Church of Santiago of this Isle of Cuba, of Jamaica, and of the Province of the Floridas and Louisiana, also of the Council of His Majesty . . . said that on this day he received the aforesaid Royal Cedula; that whilst standing he kissed it and laid it on his head as a letter from his King and natural Lord. Being informed of its contents, in obedience he ordered that it be placed in the Archives for Royal Cedula, and that by this Act which he signed, he disposed and ordered, which I do certify.

The Bishop of Cuba before me, D. Antonio de las Cuebas, Auxiliary Eccles. Notary.⁴⁵

Aware of the King's will with regard to the Church in the colony, O'Reilly consulted Father Dagobert, Superior of the remaining French Capuchins, as to the number of missionaries needed. The latter pointed out that there were just seven remaining French Capuchins as follows:

Needs of	Dagobert, Superior and Vicar General; Prosper.
the Growing	Ferdinand, Barnabas, Irenaeas, Stanislaus, and
Mission	Valentine. However, Dagobert insisted that many

more were needed and especially for the following places: New Orleans and the vicinity with the parish, the hospital, the convent and the battalions should have six priests; Los Alemanos should have two priests; and each of the following places should have one: Iberville, Punta Cortada (Pointe Coupée), Opelousas, Atakapa,

⁴⁴ Archivo Arzobispal de la Habana, Legajo 20, fol. 28. Hereafter A. A. H.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Rapido y Apalaches, Natchitoches, Illinois, Saint Genevieve, Kansas and La Fourche. This would mean eighteen priests, eleven above the present number.

Acting on the suggestion of Father Dagobert, O'Reilly wrote the Spanish King requesting as many missionaries as had been mentioned. Contrary to Dagobert's expectation, O'Reilly recommended that the new missionaries be drawn from the convent of Friars Minor of the Observance in Havana. Circumstances dictated this suggestion. Havana was nearer to Louisiana than was Spain and, moreover, there were superfluous missionaries there since the Observants were forced to withdraw from Florida when the latter was taken by Protestant England. The Council of the Indies, however, preferred to send Capuchins since this Order was already in possession of the mission and since unity and harmony might be more readily achieved if but the one religious Order instead of two worked in the same field. We have already mentioned that the two Capuchin Fathers, Antonio de Mesones and Clemente de Saldana had come with Ulloa in 1766 and returned with him upon the French rebellion in 1768. It seems that these two Capuchins never returned to Louisiana.

The next Capuchins arrived on July 19, 1772. On that day Father Dagobert at the head of the French Capuchins and a large crowd of people went in procession to the levee in front of the public square to welcome Fathers Cyril of Barcelona, Francisco de Caldes, Luis de Quintanilla, **Capuchin Arrivals, 1772** Angel de Ravillagodos, Bernardo de Limpach ⁴⁶ and Luis de Limpiano. The next day these Spanish Capuchins were presented to Unzaga, the Governor, to whom Father Cyril delivered his credentials together with letters

⁴⁶ Bernard of Limpach had the distinction of being the first canonical pastor of St. Louis, Missouri. Received his appointment Feb. 18, 1776 from Fr. Dagobert, Vicar General, and installed on May 19, of same year. September 1, 1776, parishioners gathered after the High Mass and agreed to build a new rectory. Building was of stone and probably served as residence of Bishop Dubourg in 1818. Old illustrations show this rectory on the southside of the porch-girt church, on Rue de L'Eglise, now Second Street, between Market and Walnut. Fr. Bernard also attended the settlements of Carondelet, St. Ferdinand or Florissant, St. Charles and Portage des Sioux. He was pastor of St. Louis for thirteen years and a half, i. e., from 1776-1789. In 1790, he became pastor of St. Gabriel, Iberville, and in the following year at Pointe Coupée, where he died on March 27, 1796. From all reports, Fr. Bernard was a simple, amiable and energetic friar devoted to his work and his flock. Cf. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I (St. Louis, 1928), 140 ff.

from the Bishop of Cuba. Unzaga expressed complete satisfaction at the arrival of these new emissaries of peace and avowed publicly his readiness to carry out the mandates of the Bishop of Cuba.⁴⁷

Seven years seem to have elapsed before the next expedition of Capuchins arrived. On August 16, 1779, the President of the Council wrote to the governor of Louisiana:

With regard to that which you have secretly informed me on February 25, *ult.*, . . . the King has decided to send religious missionaries from that Province and has charged me to inquire of the Provincial of the Capuchins of Andulacia as to whether he has in his Province six or eight men of virtue, knowledge and zeal, who may know or may have an aptitude for learning French and who are willing to go to Louisiana. Hence he has expedited the corresponding order.⁴⁸

On October 24, 1779, the President of the Council of the Indies wrote the governor that the King had accepted the Capuchin Provincial's offer of the following priests of the Province: Luis de Granada, Pedro de Veles, Carlos de Veles, José de Aracena and Antonio de Sedella. The Provincial is then told to lose no time in sending these Fathers to Cadiz for prompt embarkation. On November 20, 1780, the President made the following note: "Besides the religious Capuchins which I mentioned to you on October 24, 1779, as being accepted, the King has decided to add the name of Pablo de Cadiz, who is a capable priest for the ministry in any part."⁴⁹ When, however, this expedition of missionaries arrived in New Orleans on January 1, 1781, there were but four friars and neither Luis de Grenada nor Pablo de Cadiz were among the number.

On July 13, 1785, the following Capuchins arrived: Joaquín de Axofrin; José de Xeres; Esteban de Valoria; Francisco de Azuqueta; Mariano de Brunete; Pedro de Zamora; Bernardo de

Deva. Five years later, on December 9, 1790, came the following: Joaquín de Portillo; Gonzalo de Villa Provedo; Tirso de Pelea Gonzalo; Buenaventura de Castro, and Diego de Carriedo.

In addition to the Capuchins who came in these groups the following Spanish friars worked in Louisiana: Ignacio de Olot, Ramón de Bilac, José de Madrid and Felix de Quintanar. During the

⁴⁷ Gayerre, Charles, *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination* (New York, 1866), 56.

⁴⁸ Archivo General de Indias. Cuba, 174 A. Hereafter A. G. I.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

forty years of the Spanish Domination these Spanish Capuchins together with the remaining French Capuchins were the principal missionaries in Louisiana. With the exception of Bernardo de Limpach, Fathers Cyril of Barcelona, Francisco de Caldes, Ignacio de Olot, Pedro de Veles, Carlos de Veles, José de Aracena and Antonio de Sedella, all the Spanish friars belonged to the Capuchin Province of Castile.⁵⁰

Throughout the Spanish Domination the Capuchins were not the only priests in Louisiana. As the Spanish territory and population increased as a result of the acquisition of Galveston, Baton Rouge, Pensacola, Mobile and finally the Floridas, it became necessary to employ more missionaries and especially such as knew English. In 1778, the government obtained the services of the two Irishmen, Fathers Thomas Hasset and Michael O'Reilly; in 1787, Father Gregory White arrived from the venerable college of Seville to work in the missions of Coles Creek and Natchez. At the same time Fathers W. Savage, Michael Lamport and Constantine McKenna, Irishmen from the College of Salamanca, came to minister to the parishes east of the Mississippi.

By royal order of May 11, 1791, the Bishop of Havanna appointed to the Floridas the Irish priests, Don Mark Barry, Don Michael Crosby and Michael Vallés (Carmelite), to minister to the English and Anglo-Americans. On September 7, 1795, Bishop Penalver employed the services of Diego Maxwell and John Brady. On November 5, 1793, Father Leivan came to Pensacola. Other Irish diocesan priests who worked in Louisiana during the Spanish Domination are: Santiago Collman, Patrick Morgan, M. Murphy, Charles Burke, and Patrick Walsh. French priests, too, were always in demand as the majority of inhabitants were French and showed no inclination to forsake their mother tongue. Over and above the French Capuchins, we find the following working in this extensive mission: Fathers Gefretini, St. Pierre, Gibault, Delvaux, Brutin, Jenín, Savage, Gerbois, Olivier, Lupon, Koune, L'Epinase and others.⁵¹

In September, 1798, we find the King defraying the expenses of worship for the following places: New Orleans, N. Galves, San Carlos de los Alemanos, San Juan B. de Alemanos, Catanose, La

⁵⁰ Castillo, El P. Antonio de, *La Luisiana Espanola Y El Padre Sedella* (Puerto Rico, 1929), 17 f.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 25 ff.

The Right of Patronage Fourche, Valensuela, Iberville, Galveston, Batin Rouge, Punta Cortada, Atakapas, Opelousas, Natchitoches, Natchez, Coles Creek, Arkansas, Nuevo Madrid, Santa Genoveva, San Luis, Santa C. de Illinois, El Carmen del Rio Colorado, Mobile, Pensacola and San Augustin.⁵² In supporting these churches the King was but fulfilling an obligation contracted by the Right of Patronage which he enjoyed in all Spanish countries. His was the duty to support the missionaries and to build and repair the churches and rectories, and to provide the necessities of worship. As a reward for these duties, he had the right to name either personally or through the Council of the Indies, bishops and pastors and to present them to the Holy See for confirming the appointment. In the course of time the Spanish Kings interpreted their privileges so broadly as to include the right to appoint and dismiss even the sacristans and other church officials.⁵³

Accordingly, when the Spanish King decided on an Auxiliary Bishop for Louisiana, he chose the Capuchin, Cyril of Barcelona, who in 1785 was consecrated Bishop of Tricall and Auxiliary to the Bishop of Cuba, and sent to conduct a visitation of whole Louisiana. In 1787, when the diocese of Santiago de Cuba was dismembered and Louisiana and the Floridas were assigned to the new diocese of St. Christopher of Havanna, the Bishop of this See, Joseph de Trespalacios also retained Bishop Cyril as Auxiliary. On April 2, 1792, the King commanded the Council of the Indies to consider the question of forming Louisiana and the Floridas into a separate diocese, and on receiving a favorable reply, separated this territory from Havanna and the Holy See sanctioned the move by decree of April 25, 1793.

The following August 12, 1793, the King appointed Louis Penalver y Cardenas first bishop of the see. Penalver, a priest of great merit, was born on April 3, 1719, in Havana, of noble and wealthy parents. Educated at the Jesuit college and at the university of his native city, he was entrusted with many responsibilities including the office of Provisor or Vicar General. In those days of the patronage there was no

⁵² *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵³ Ryan, Edwin, "Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies" in *Cath. Hist. Review*, II (Apr., 1916), 150.

dearth of aspirants to the mitre and attorneys at Madrid were frequently authorized to accept the nomination in the name of their clients, should the favor be offered. But Don Nicholas Fernandez, attorney for Penalver, on being asked if he was authorized to accept the episcopal honor in the name of him whom he represented, replied in the negative. This would indicate no such ambition on the part of Penalver who when asked by Royal Authority on September 29, 1793, if he would accept the bishopric of Louisiana, replied that "if without any merit on his part, Divine Providence should destine him to this prelacy, he would submit to its will."⁵⁴ When these preliminaries were completed, the Holy See was asked to confirm the election of Penalver. The Bulls were issued and sent to Havana where Penalver was consecrated by Don Francisco de La Cuerda, Bishop of Puerto Rico, on April 26, 1795.

The new Bishop lost no time in taking possession of his diocese and in starting an extensive visitation which he had wellnigh completed by February, 1797. His report briefly summarized

from the original in the *Archivo General de Indias*,⁵⁵ follows: There were 24 parishes in the entire diocese and until then Penalver had visited 16, leaving those of New Madrid, Santa Genoveva and St. Louis (Missouri) in the extreme north, and those of Galveston, Mobile Pensacola and St. Augustine in the extreme southeast for seasons more suitable for travel. Louisiana was a diocese of magnificent distances and it took the bishop eighteen months to visit just 16 parishes.

Besides the fourteen diocesan priests, there were at that time fourteen Regulars, twelve of whom were Capuchins as follows: Antonio de Sedella, Pedro de Zamora, Luis de Quintanilla, Ber-

nardo de Deva, Pedro de Veles, Tirsó de Pelea
Record of Gonzalo, Flaviano de Bezanon, José de Villa-
Missionaries provedo, Mariano de Brunete, José de Madrid,
of 1797 Felix de Quintanar, and Buenaventura de Castro.

Two other religious, P. Brady, Carmelite, and Pablo de San Pedro, also worked in the diocese. The Bishop praised his priests for their regular life and apostolic ministry, mentioning also that they apply the *Missa pro Populo*. Five of

⁵⁴ Castillo, *op. cit.*, 130.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 125-128; Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

the Capuchins were stationed in New Orleans, one acting as pastor, two as curates, one as school-teacher and one as army chaplain.

The pastors received 30 pesos monthly from the royal exchequer; the pastor of the cathedral and the Irish priests received 40 pesos, one assistant received 30 and another 25 pesos. Six of the parishes received 50 pesos apiece, New Galveston 20 and the cathedral at New Orleans received 200 and of this one half was allotted to parishes receiving no direct help. The Prelate then notifies the King that since his coming to Louisiana three years before he has not left the boundaries of his diocese, and that the visitation which necessitated his travelling six hundred leagues was made at his own expense. For the boat and crew he had to pay 14 pesos daily. Throughout his administration he has made no collections so as to avoid the impression of ambition.

On the occasion of the visitation Penalver also took up a census and he informs the King that the population of his diocese is 43,087, of whom 16,009 dwell in New Orleans. The Bishop further lists two cities, two towns, fifteen parochial districts, two churches without such character, one monastery and four hospitals. A singular item is the notice that he ordained one diocesan priest, in all probability the only ordination in New Orleans in the eighteenth century or before. In the Ursuline convent there were 26 Sisters and 66 pupils attending the Ursuline school.⁵⁶

Bishop Penalver was transferred from New Orleans to the archiepiscopal see of Guatemala on July 20, 1801. Two years later by the treaty of Paris on April 30, 1803, Louisiana became the property of the United States. On October 1, 1800, by the treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain had returned the colony to France. The latter, however, actually possessed the colony only twenty days. After the cession to the United States the Spanish Capuchins with few exceptions either returned to Spain or affiliated with other Spanish missions.

⁵⁶ Castillo, *op. cit.*, 125 ff.; Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 220.



ANTONIO DE SEDELLA. Capuchin. Vicar General, Ecclesiastical Judge,
Commissary of the Holy Office of Inquisition, Pastor of the Cathedral,
New Orleans, La.

PART III

FATHER ANTONIO DE SEDELLA

A treatise on Spanish Louisiana would be incomplete without some special remarks on Father Antonio de Sedella, the most famous of all the Capuchins in the Mission. Considered a saint by many, he is looked upon by others as the lowest of criminals—the curse of the Church in Louisiana, according to Shea⁵⁷ and O’Gorman.⁵⁸ The only work we know of that presents Antonio in a favorable light is that entitled: *La Luisiana Espanola Y El Padre Sedella*, by the Capuchin, Antonio de Castillo, Puerto Rico, 1929. So far as we know, this is the latest work on the subject and, unless otherwise noted, we shall base our present study on this work which is built up almost exclusively on unpublished materials from the *Archivo Arzobispal de la Habana*, the *Archivo General de Indias*, the *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, and the *Archivo Catedral de Nueva Orleans*. For our present purpose the barest outline of this vast subject must suffice.

Father Antonio was born on November 18, 1748, at Sedella, Kingdom of Grenada, and named Francisco Antonio Indefonso. He was ordained priest in the Capuchin convent of Grenada, by

the Bishop of Guadix on December 21, 1771, and
Distinguished came to Louisiana on January 1, 1781. Gifted as
Career philosopher and theologian, a Master of Arts and

Morals, he mastered the French language within a short time after his arrival in New Orleans. Throughout his career in Louisiana he was entrusted with responsible positions, the first of which was that of administrator of the Charity Hospital at New Orleans. In this position he had to gather the funds and supervise the investments and expenditures. For five years he managed the financial affairs of the hospital to the complete satisfaction of the authorities and resigned his office only when pressed by other work. In 1787, he was appointed pastor of New Orleans by the Bishop of Cuba. Later he became ecclesiastical Judge and Vicar General. His most surprising title was that of Commissary of the Holy Office of Inquisition conferred on him by the Tribunal of Cartagena. The exercise of the latter office,

⁵⁷ *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll* (New York, 1888), 548.

⁵⁸ *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), 291.

however, was suspended by the King on January 9, 1788, upon representation by the governor that it would retard immigration especially from English colonies.⁵⁹ Father Antonio, however, retained his office of Commissary.

The appointment of Antonio to such high offices seems to have paved the way for jealousy on the part of Bishop Cyril of Barcelona, Capuchin Auxiliary of Louisiana. Cyril apparently wished

to retain the pastorship of New Orleans even while doing the work of an Auxiliary Bishop, and resented the appointment of Antonio. Likewise, the office of Commissary of the Holy Inquisition which in some

respects raised Antonio, a simple Capuchin priest, above the Bishop, did not please Cyril. Moreover, the immense popularity of Antonio, the idol of his flock, added to the Bishop's chagrin. In the beginning of 1790, the animosity had reached its climax when Bishop Cyril had Antonio expelled from the colony. As early as November, 1789, Cyril had sent to the diocesan bishop in Cuba a list of complaints against Antonio. The Bishop of Cuba replied by authorizing Cyril to investigate the charges. But instead of an investigation, Cyril proposed to Governor Miro to dismiss Antonio either to Pensacola as chaplain to the third battalion or to his convent in Spain. From all indications Miro was a friend of Antonio but in order to satisfy Bishop Cyril offered to transfer Antonio to Pensacola. In this way he would at least keep the Capuchin in the colony. The Bishop, however, insisted on the dismissal of Antonio to Spain, and Miro finally submitted to his request emphasizing, however, that he was merely submitting to the bishop and had no other part in the affair.

When Antonio realized the measures plotted against him, he made use of his position as Commissary of the Holy Office, and sent the Governor a peremptory order for a company of soldiers who were to report and afford the Commissary

the protection to which he had royal right. This was at nine o'clock of the night of April 28, 1790.

As the night wore on and the next day also and no answer came from the Governor, Antonio repeated in strong and official language his demand for troops since "the success of my commission is imperilled owing to the delay, and since this affair is of the gravest importance for the service of the King."⁶⁰ The governor

⁵⁹ AAH, Indice de Cédulas 788-799, folio 443.

⁶⁰ AGI, Cuba, 102.

was full of anxiety at this demand but, pressed by the Bishop, he gave orders for the friar's arrest and deportation to Spain. The order was executed on the night of April 29, 1790, when ten soldiers seized the friar in his house, bound him with chains and placed him on a boat that sailed to Spain.

This action of the Bishop and Governor was to cost them dearly. Hitherto historians have usually put the chief blame on the governor, but according to the present sources, the greater responsibility rests on the bishop. No sooner had

A Sad Antonio departed than Cyril appointed himself pastor
Aftermath of New Orleans. The appointment, however, was of short duration, for the violent arrest and expulsion of Antonio caused no small stir in New Orleans, Madrid and Havana. "You have exceeded your powers, you have acted contrary to right, you have violated your orders and committed a wrong in expelling Antonio de Sedella," wrote the Bishop of Cuba to Bishop Cyril forty days after the event.⁶¹ He also removed the self-appointed Bishop Cyril from the pastorship of New Orleans and appointed Father Joachim Portillo Pastor, Vicar and Judge. Letters also poured into the royal court of Madrid where Antonio had reported on his arrival in Spain.

All charges against Antonio were promptly investigated by the Council of the Indies which in the royal cedula of July 22, 1791, censured Bishop Cyril for his action toward Antonio. The latter

was sent back to New Orleans at the command of
Vindicated the King and reinstated in his position as pastor.

The expense of Antonio's voyage was to be deducted from the salaries of Bishop Cyril and Governor Miro. After the reinstatement of Antonio the governor was recalled to Spain by royal order, while Bishop Cyril was commanded to leave New Orleans and continue his visitation in Pensacola and Mobile and then to establish his residence in St. Augustine "for the present and until new provision be made."⁶² Finally, on November 3, 1793, the King issued an order for the return of Cyril to his convent. Having notified the Auxiliary of the erection of Louisiana into a separate diocese, the King continues: "I have also resolved to relieve you of your office of auxiliary; and direct you to return immediately to your Capuchin province of Catalonia."⁶³ In

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Cuba, 1458, fol. 2°, v.

⁶² Castillo, *op. cit.*, 121 f.

⁶³ Shea, *op. cit.*, 568.

obedience to the royal command, Bishop Cyril left Louisiana never to return. Antonio, however, after his reinstatement received a new honor from the King—the title of *Honorary Preacher to His Majesty*. Defended by the King, Antonio also merited the highest praise from Bishop Penalver, the first Ordinary of Louisiana, who on departing for his new see of Guatemala, paid the following tribute to Antonio:

Fr. Antonio de Sedella, Capuchin religious of the Andulasian Province, came to Louisiana in the year 1782. In 1785, he became acting-pastor and pastor in 1787, and administrator of the Charity Hospital. Titles of philosophy, theology, ecclesiastical and moral, and others adorn his name, and writing to His Majesty in April, 1799, we placed him among the most deserving ecclesiastics of this diocese. Even now, wishing to do him justice, we declare that immediately on the erection of this diocese on July 17, 1795, we arrived here from Havana, and we reinstated him in his office as pastor on August 1, fulfilling the Sovereign Order of October 22, 1794. We restored to him all the rights of which he had been deprived. From that date his zeal in the exercise of the ministry has been constant; his preaching on feastdays most fervent and also his instruction to the children during the various seasons of the year. Neither the rigor of winter nor the heat of summer have caused him to diminish his diligence in the administration of the sacraments nor in serving the sick.

He distributed abundant alms to the poor and has enriched the church with precious jewels, gold and silver for the divine worship. He accompanied us always on the visitations to the interior and also beyond the river, giving constant proofs of the same fervor and religious conduct which is in keeping with his Order; he has also gained the esteem and sympathy of those who have had no dealings with him. We feel confident, judging him thus, that he is deserving of the rewards which the Sovereign may bestow on him, and we are certain that he will not abuse them, but rather correspond well with them as he has done in regard to the above-mentioned offices.

We ordain that a testimony be taken of these presents etc.

Signed Luis, Bishop of Louisiana,
Archbishop-elect of Guatemala. Oct. 3, 1801.
Before me: Isodore Quintero, Secretary.⁶⁴

This is the first episode in Antonio's missionary career; a second has to do with the controversy over ecclesiastical jurisdiction occasioned by the departure of Bishop Penalver for Guatemala. We shall try to note briefly the salient points of this second controversy.

Shortly after taking possession of the diocese of New Orleans, Bishop Penalver appointed Canon Thomas Hassett Vicar Gen-

⁶⁴ Castillo, *op. cit.*, 137.

eral. On November 2, 1795, he wrote the King for confirmation of this appointment, and also for instructions as to who should govern the diocese in case of the Ordinary's absence through illness or transfer. The King was not prompt in answering this inquiry but allowed four years to pass before sending the following important information regarding the succession of authority in a vacant see under Spanish rule. Referring to Penalver's question the King wrote on June 13, 1799:

Reviewing the matter in the Chamber of the Council of the Indies, with the assistance of the two attorneys, I have resolved . . . to declare that as a rule when any bishop dies whose church has no chapter on which the jurisdiction of the prelate should fall, conformable to canon law, to both the old and the new discipline, and to the constant practice regarding the administration of these vacant churches, *it belongs to the Metropolitan to name the Provisor or Vicar General*, notifying my Viceroy or President in the respective Province in accordance with that contained in my Royal Cedula of August 4, 1790; and in case the metropolitan see be vacant, *the nearest suffragan should carry out this instruction; and in case the suffragans are of equal distance, the older of the two should act.* Hence, according to my Royal Cedula, *I ordain and command the head superiors of these provinces where there are cathedrals that have no chapters*, and I entreat and charge those prelates together with the Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdoms of the Indies, the Philippine Islands and of the other adjacent places, that, informed of this my resolution, you maintain it and see that it is kept and fulfilled accordingly in each territory and in the form expressed, since this is my will.⁶⁵

Briefly the King legislates that in vacant sees that have no cathedral chapter it belongs to the metropolitan to name the administrator or Vicar General, and if the metropolitan see be also vacant, this duty devolves upon the nearest diocesan bishop, and in case two dioceses are equi-distant from the vacant see, then the older of the two suffragans should make the appointment. As New Orleans had no cathedral chapter, it belonged in the first place to the metropolitan of Santiago de Cuba, and secondly to the bishop of Havana to designate the Vicar General or administrator for New Orleans after the departure of its Bishop. Penalver was promoted to the metropolitan see of Guatemala on July 20, 1801. Accordingly, he reaffirmed that Thomas Hassett was the Vicar General but only until the Bulls of the new appointment to Guatemala should arrive, when, as was evident from the King's

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 143. Italics mine.

letter of June 13, 1799, the metropolitan or Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba would have the duty and right to name the ecclesiastical superior. On October 15, 1801, Penalver wrote as follows:

Since in virtue of my appointment to the vacant metropolitan see of Guatemala, I must leave to take possession, leaving in the meantime in Louisiana the person of our satisfaction *who may govern it until the Bulls are despatched* which should free us, corresponding to the advice of the Royal Chamber according to the declaration of His Majesty in the Royal Cedula of November 6, 1786, in which event, *since it has no chapter, the government reverts to the Illustrious Metropolitan, or in default, on the nearest suffragan, and in case two (suffragans) are equi-distant, on the older of them*, according to the Royal Cedula of June 13, 1799. Our departure being nigh, and confident of the good qualities possessed by our Provisor, Vicar General, D. Thomas Hassett, eldest canon of this church, we appoint him governor of this whole diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, under our orders, as long as we are residing in it (Diocese), and afterwards by himself, *until the event as stated*,⁶⁶ in order to conform to Canon Law, and to our stated laws of this date, ordinances and regulations.⁶⁷

On November 3, 1801, Penalver had appointed the Rev. Patrick Walsh an Auxiliary Vicar to act in the absence of Hassett. On February 10, 1802, the Bulls transferring Penalver to Guatemala arrived and according to the King's letter of June 13, 1799, the jurisdiction of Both Hassett and Walsh ceased since it was now the duty of the Metropolitan of Cuba or of the Bishop of Havana to name the ecclesiastical superior of New Orleans.

Cessation of the Vicar's Powers No immediate recourse was had to these Ordinaries probably because the successor to Penalver was expected promptly, for on November 15, 1801, Francis Porro y Peinado, ex-Minister General of the Minorites, was consecrated in Rome as Bishop of Louisiana. On August 18, 1801, Peinado had written from Rome but made the mistake of addressing his letter to the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter, erroneously thinking that New Orleans had a Cathedral Chapter on whom the government of the diocese had automatically fallen. Hassett opened the letter and although he knew that there was no Cathedral Chapter in New Orleans, seems to have found ground to maintain the ecclesiastical headship of the diocese. Bishop Peinado never came to Louisiana, for as it became apparent that Spain would soon relinquish the Province

⁶⁶ *hasta el evento que va dicho.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 145. Italics mine.

into other hands, he was transferred to Tarrazona in Spain. New Orleans was again orphaned and received no bishop till 1815, when William Dubourg was consecrated.

There was by now a state of general doubt as to who was the legitimate head of the church of New Orleans. On April 2, 1802, Canon Pérez Guerrero wrote to Hassett: "The Cedula of His

No Decision Majesty does not state that you are the governor
from Havana of the vacant see."⁶⁸ Later both Querrero and Hassett wrote to the Bishop of Havana, and

from the Bishop's answers written on July 30 and 31, 1802, we gather that the Bishop of Havana refused to intervene in any authoritative manner. He, too, made the mistake of supposing that there was a cathedral chapter at New Orleans as there was in practically all Spanish sees and that the chapter naturally inheriting the administratorship of the diocese should work in harmony. "In answer to yours in which you communicate the state of that church, enclosing letters relative to the matter, I cannot tell you other than what I twice wrote to Hassett your other companion, manifesting to him my judgment concerning the matter. Both of you can get together and work in harmony for the good of that church, *having respect for the right and the intention of His Majesty and the Holy See.*"⁶⁹ We know what the intention of His Majesty was and the Holy See had not spoken.

In the archives of the archdiocese of Havana there is a letter of Bishop Carroll, apparently not the original but a version of the original sent by the Intendant, Morales, to Bishop Diaz Espada of Havanna. It is dated July 22, 1805, and is written

Voice of to someone in New Orleans, probably Father Olivier.
Carroll Carroll acknowledges the receipt of a letter in which he is asked to intervene in behalf of the distracted

Church of New Orleans. The Bishop of Baltimore, however, disclaims all authority over New Orleans saying:

I have no right nor jurisdiction in that Province, nor can I accept it, although it is offered me. Immediately after that country was annexed to the United States, I feared that they would unite it to my diocese already too extended, and knowing my inability to take over its religious administration I immediately informed the head of our Church, the Sovereign Pontiff, of my resolution of not taking more to my charge. My resolution was approved by the Holy See which provided in another and certainly a better way for main-

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 154. Italics mine.

taining religion. . . . I can give no orders, because Louisiana is outside my jurisdiction, and in it I can exercise no presbyteral, much less episcopal ministry without permission of its ecclesiastical superior.⁷⁰

Accordingly, Bishop Carroll made no appointment since he was of the opinion that he had no jurisdiction over New Orleans. In this state of affairs it seems apparent that New Orleans remained without a legitimate head from February 10, 1802, when Penalver received the Bulls for his promotion to Guatemala. Hassett as a member of the cathedral chapter could not be the head of the diocese because there was no chapter. Neither could he be head of the diocese by appointment by Penalver since the latter made it plain that he appointed according to the decree of the King. The metropolitan see of Cuba was vacant at the time and the Bishop of Havana failed to name any definite head of the diocese but rather referred to the intention of His Majesty. Finally, Bishop Carroll also denied that he had any power or jurisdiction for making appointments in New Orleans.

The question that interests us here is how did the Capuchin Antonio de Sedella conduct himself during this state of uncertainty as to the real ecclesiastical superior? The author of the Spanish work referred to finds nothing objectionable in the friar's conduct. Throughout the time he remained at the cathedral quietly performing his pastoral duties. He became involved in the controversy mainly through his curates, two diocesan priests, Father Pedro Francisco L'Epinase and Fr. Pedro Koure, who had come recently to the mission. By this time Thomas Hassett was dead and Patrick Walsh, who under the same circumstances as Hassett had been appointed Auxiliary Vicar, assumed that he succeeded to the office of Administrator. The two assistants at the cathedral inclined to Walsh and opposed Fr. Antonio on numerous occasions. Antonio, whose name was a household word in every family, was the idol of the people. Jealous of the friar's popularity, the two curates were not only insubordinate but also insulting. Father Antonio protested to Walsh and despite the state of doubt as to the legality of Walsh's position, addressed him as Vicar General. Walsh, however, failed to protect the Capuchin against the curates. In self-defense Antonio resigned his office as pastor. Walsh not

⁷⁰ AAH, Legajo, 20.

only accepted the resignation but also appointed himself pastor to succeed the Capuchin.

This naturally aroused the people devoted as they were to the old Spanish Padre who had learnt their French language and ministered to them as if they were of his nation. As a protest both French and Spanish assembled twice at the cathedral and voted the pastorship to Antonio. They argued that even though Antonio had renounced the pastorship, it was invalid because Walsh was not the ecclesiastical head and had no power to accept the resignation. The action of the crowd Walsh naturally visited upon Antonio whom he now suspended for insubordination. Antonio at once appealed to Calvo, the King's representative, in the meantime refraining from saying Mass. Calvo had recourse to Nicholas Vidal, Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, and adviser to the Supreme Inquisition of Cartagena. The latter solved the case as follows:

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction for governing a diocese derives either by right or by appointment. By right, Walsh has none, since he is neither a bishop nor a remaining member of the cathedral chapter. Penalver on departing appointed him (Walsh) as second Vicar in case of absence or death of the first who was Hassett. But these powers absolutely expired when Penalver received the Bulls which appointed him archbishop of Guatemala, and which Penalver received on February 7, 1802. Hence, if he (Walsh) did not receive a special appointment from the Pope or from the Prelate who governs the diocese in the actual circumstances, then Walsh is an ordinary priest without the prerogatives of a Vicar. In case, however, he has received a special appointment, he should show it, for no one can make use of his faculties without taking possession and without showing authentic titles. . . . The suspension of Father Sedella . . . being a very grave punishment, requires a very grave fault, which as Walsh states in his fantastic decree consisted in this that Fr. Sedella excited the people. But all the people and each of us knows that this charge is false.⁷¹

Another authority was consulted, the Chaplain, Fr. Sebastian Gili and he gave the following answer:

Walsh affirms that he governs through the recommendation of Bishop Penalver. But the jurisdiction of the bishop's Vicar lasts no longer than that of the constituent bishop. Since the jurisdiction of Penalver as to the ecclesiastical affairs in Louisiana has expired some years ago, it is evident that Walsh's jurisdiction has also expired. Consequently, the suspension of Sedella is absolutely null and illegal.⁷²

⁷¹ Castillo, *op. cit.*, 190.

⁷² *Ibid.*

Walsh now ignored all opposition to his office and endeavored to claim the temporalities of the church in New Orleans. The people still considered Antonio the legitimate pastor and opposed the attempts of Walsh. The latter then sued Sedella **Reaction of** and the administrators of the cathedral but lost the **Fr. Walsh** case. Shortly after losing the suit, Walsh suffered an attack of illness and died within three days, on August 22, 1806. Sedella was now left unmolested and continued as pastor of the cathedral. Moreover, in answer to a petition of the people the King of Spain authorized the Capuchin either to remain as pastor of New Orleans or to return to his convent in Spain with a yearly pension for life. The royal Order is dated December 16, 1805.

This concludes the second episode in Antonio's missionary career. There is another episode in Antonio's life which De Castillo does not treat—his opposition to William Dubourg. But as this is treated fully in the correspondence between Dubourg and Sedella, printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*⁷³ and in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*,⁷⁴ there is no need to give the details here. The correspondence reveals that Antonio questioned Dubourg's position as Apostolic Administrator and his right to delegate Fr. Louis Sibourd Vicar General. The correspondence admits, however, that Antonio not only "accepts matrimonial dispensations issued in my (i. e., Dubourg's) name by my Vicar General but even refuses to bless marriages in need of dispensation, until the parties have secured this dispensation from the lawful authority."⁷⁵ Throughout the correspondence Antonio is frequently referred to as "the enemy" but we look in vain for any specific instance of disobedience to the head superior. The letters refer to the Board of Trustees as Father Anthony's abettors and that they don't want a bishop in New Orleans, but nothing beyond generalities are charged. We have heard how when Antonio resigned as pastor the people themselves went to the church and voted him their pastor although he positively refused to attend the meeting. That some of the "mob" may have been loud and noisy in their opposition can be readily understood; that responsibility for much of this or at least for

⁷³ IV (April, 1918), 52-75.

⁷⁴ I (Oct., 1918), 300-311.

⁷⁵ *Cath. Hist. Review*, l. c., 65.

some of it was charged to Antonio can also be readily understood. This, however, would not necessarily convict Antonio of insubordination.

Sometime in 1806, the enemies of Antonio accused him of treason to the United States, as we learn from the following statement of James Madison to Claiborne:

Of the Spanish friar Antonio de Sedella the accounts received here agree with the character you have formed of him. It appears that his intrigues and his connections have drawn on him the watchful attention of the Governor of that territory.⁷⁶

Later, on October 10, 1806, Claiborne wrote to Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War:

On this morning I requested the Catholic priest to attend me at the Government House. I mentioned to him the reports concerning his conduct which had reached me. The priest declared his innocence and avowed his determination to support the Government and promote good order. I nevertheless thought it best and proper to administer to him the oath of allegiance and shall cause his conduct to be observed. The priest declared the reports to have originated from the malice of his enemies. The division in the Catholic Church has excited many malignant passions and *it is not improbable that some injustice has been done to this individual.*⁷⁷

We wonder whether Bishop Dubourg ever really understood this Spanish friar. So far as we know, practically all the charges the Bishop makes against Antonio are based on what others have written him in letters. We nowhere read of the Bishop ever making any serious investigations and attempting to analyse the charges and fix the guilt. When finally Dubourg came to New Orleans he confesses himself surprised at the welcome and co-operation he received from Antonio.

Among those who exhibited the greatest signs of joy and reverence at my coming, one of the most conspicuous was the Rev. Father Anthony de Sedella, the very same man who, in former times, I know not why, was most hostile to me. Words are unavailing to describe the honors with which he welcomed me, and I would dare say that there is no one more in harmony with me, no one to whom genuine affection prompts to more solicitude in my behalf.⁷⁸

Furthermore, it cannot but strike us as strange that Dubourg with all his references to Antonio as the "enemy" should never-

⁷⁶ *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (Jan., 1919), 30.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Italics mine.

⁷⁸ Dubourg to Cardinal Fontana, St. Mathias' Day, April, 1821, *St. Louis Cath. Hist. Review*, II (1920), 135.

theless even deem of proposing the seventy-two year old friar for the episcopal dignity. Yet he actually petitioned Rome for Antonio either as Coadjutor or as Auxiliary withdrawing the petition when receiving more information against the friar. The answer of Antonio declining the proferred honor is so replete with humble reverence, sound judgment and common sense that we are naturally forced to think kindlier of one constantly addressed with uncomplimentary epithets. In fact, the extensive correspondence of Dubourg on Antonio seems to indicate that there must have been some misunderstanding not necessarily malicious on the part of the friar. Hence there may be much truth in the estimate of Marie Louise Points who says of Sedella:

Few priests have been more assailed by historians, but a careful comparison of the ancient records of the cathedral with the traditions that cluster about his memory show that he did not deserve on the one hand the indignities which Gayarré and Shea heap upon him, nor yet the excessive honors with which tradition has crowned him. From the cathedral archives it has been proven that he was simply an earnest priest striving to do what he thought his duty amid many difficulties.⁷⁹

Antonio died in 1829, at the ripe old age of eighty-one, and with his death passed away the last Capuchin in the Louisiana Mission. Mindful of his simplicity and poverty, his love for the poor and sick whom he helped and nursed during the frequent epidemics, the people of New Orleans deemed his obsequies more of a triumph than a funeral. Both Houses of the Legislature and the courts suspended their sessions and assisted at the interment. The members of the City Council wore crepe for thirty days and even the Masons walked in the funeral procession. On November 29, 1885, which was the centenary of his appointment to the pastorate of the cathedral, a solemn commemoration took place at the cathedral and a book, *Centenaire du P. Antoine* was published.

With the passing of Antonio de Sedella, the association of the Capuchin Fathers with New Orleans came to an end. He was the last of the long line of brown-robed friars who from various countries of Europe, but notably from France and Spain, came in missionary procession to Louisiana. With his death one hundred and seven years of Capuchin history have been rounded

⁷⁹ *Cath. Encycl.*, Knights of Col. Ed., XI (1913), 8.

out. The famous friar is still an enigma and will remain so until further research proves him deserving of either the many indignities or the excessive honors which tradition has woven about his name. With no air of finality we wish merely to state that the sources consulted for this study justify a kindlier judgment of Antonio than that usually given.

DISCUSSION

FR. JOHN M. LENHART, O.M.Cap.:—The writer of this paper has succeeded in giving a rather complete yet succinct account of this extensive period of Capuchin history. In addition to what he has so well said, I should like to remark that not only the Company of the Indies but also the *concessionnaires* or grantees were obliged to maintain priests on their grants in Louisiana. However, the latter did not always observe this regulation. Fr. Raphael complained of the lack of priests on the estates and represented that the Capuchins, in rendering necessary service to the estates, were often prevented from doing their own work. Hence the criticism that there were too few Capuchins in the mission was not always true to fact.

Priests on the Estates

Then, regarding the sad state of religion and the difficulties that frequently arose among the missionaries, it must be remembered that the bishops of Quebec never set foot in the mission territory. The colony was established about the year 1700, nevertheless no bishop came to the mission until 1785 when the Capuchin Bishop Cyril of Barcelona was consecrated Auxiliary to the Bishop of Cuba and sent to conduct a visitation and to confirm in Louisiana. The first resident Ordinary, Bishop Penalver, reached Louisiana only about the year 1795, almost one hundred years after the establishment of the colony. The Bishops of Quebec always claimed Louisiana as part of their diocese but apparently showed little personal interest in its problems. The lack of a resident bishop or at least of a periodic visitor cannot but share in the responsibility for the lack of harmony and progress in the mission.

Need of a Resident Bishop

It is also noteworthy that the work performed by the Capuchins was not confined to the posts where they were officially established. They took interest in the Indians and in the settlers of other posts that had no missionaries.

Serving the Indians

Thus in addition to the places mentioned in the paper, Capuchins served Dauphine Island, Pascagoula, Mon Louis Island (across the Mississippi Sound), Fort Toulouse, above Mobile near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers (Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128, 153, 156 ff., 162). Over and above the Indians mentioned in the paper, Capuchins also worked among the Mobilian, Choctaw and Tensaw tribes (*Ibid.*, 92, 98, 100). The Capuchins also exercised legal offices in the mission, e.g., acting as official witnesses to wills etc. (Cf. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 111). This is just one of the many activities in the temporal and spiritual order which the missionaries exercised in behalf of the people they had come to serve.

FRANCISCANS IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

FR. OLIVER MURRAY, O.F.M.

The purpose of this paper is to sketch briefly the Franciscan missionary activity within the confines of the thirteen original English colonies. Since the Recollects, the Reformati, and the Alcantarines have been re-united in 1897 to the Friars Minor of the Observant family, I shall refer to them by their commonly accepted title of "Friars Minor," and to the other Franciscan families as the "Capuchins," the "Conventuals," and the "Third Order Regular." The paper deals with two periods: the first, from the settling of the colonies by the English to the Revolutionary War; the second, from the Revolutionary War to the founding of the present Franciscan provinces.

PART I

FROM THE SETTLING OF THE COLONIES TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Since the Friars Minor were in Georgia before the coming of the English to that colony, their activity is rightly credited to the Spanish mission of Florida, whence they pushed their way northwards into the present limits of the "Cracker" State. The ruins of their once beautiful mission churches still stand as mute testimonials of their zealous Christianizing endeavours among the Indian tribes. Five of these Spanish Franciscans were martyred on the soil of Georgia. There is evidence also that occasionally Friars Minor and Capuchins came down from Canada into the New England colonies, especially, into Massachusetts. In 1650 there was a very flourishing Capuchin mission in Virginia. In 1689 the Rev. Christopher Plunket, a Capuchin, was captured while living upon the estate of a relative, John Plunket, a Virginian planter. Banished to an island off the coast, he died in captivity in 1697, thereby becoming an Irish martyr in America.

In 1627 Father Joseph de la Roche d'Allion, a Friar Minor from Canada, entered what is now New York State. He traveled

along the Niagara River through the present Erie County. In a letter to a friend in France, he described the region and its people. This letter is now preserved as a valuable historical document. Near the present Cuba, N. Y., he discovered petroleum, then called "Huron-ton," after the Huron tribe which inhabited the section. These Indians were friendly towards him and he labored among them for many years. De la Roche Hall at St. Bonaventure's College has been named in his honor.

On December 5, 1678, five Friars Minor, among them the famous Father Louis Hennepin, embarked with La Salle upon his expedition to the West. After an arduous journey they arrived at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. La Salle planned to make this the starting point in the building of an immense fur-trade in the West. Following the instructions of Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, he intended to build a fort at Niagara, and with that purpose in mind he sent one of his adjutants, Sieur de la Motte, to explore the country. Accompanied by Father Hennepin, La Motte in a brigantine reached the outlet of the Niagara River, where Hennepin chanted the Te Deum in thanksgiving. Leaving their vessel they came by canoe to the mountain ridge, where a rock still bears Hennepin's name. Climbing the heights of Lewiston they came in sight of the mighty cataract, where the waters of the upper lakes rush through the narrow channel and plunge down hundreds of feet below. They were the first white men to behold Niagara Falls, and it was Hennepin who furnished the first published account of this wonder of the Western World. The next morning amid nature's own symphony, caused by the rush and roar of many waters, Hennepin offered the first Mass at Niagara Falls. They started to build a fort, but the Indians showed such fierce hostility that the project had to be abandoned. They crossed to the east bank of the Niagara River, where La Motte erected a stockade which he called Fort de Conty. Here Hennepin immediately built a bark house and chapel.

La Salle made a grant of land to the Franciscans at Niagara for a residence, giving the deed to Father Gabriel, Hennepin's superior. This was the first Catholic Church property in the present State of New York. The "Griffin," blessed by Hennepin and the first vessel on Lake Erie, finally sailed for the West with the Franciscans aboard. However, one friar remained at the

stockade on the Niagara as chaplain, namely, Father Melithon Watteaux, who has the distinction of being the first Catholic priest appointed to minister to whites in New York.

There is some dispute among historians as to whether or not Hennepin stopped at Albany, then called Fort Orange. The majority of them are agreed that he did pass through Albany while visiting the settlements of the Iroquois. The people there, being for the most part Dutch Catholics, begged him to remain as pastor, but he refused. Hennepin acted as La Salle's peace delegate with the Indians because he knew all their dialects. His *Nouvelle Decouverte*, published at Utrecht in 1697, furnishes a description of Albany, Niagara Falls, Fort Niagara and the other places which he had visited. A copy of this work is preserved in the library at St. Bonaventure's College.

The provincial chapter of the English Franciscans, held in 1672, decided to send two Fathers as missionaries to the colony of Maryland. This move was taken at the request of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. The meeting-place of the
In Maryland chapter was Somerset House, one of the royal palaces of London, and at that time the residence of the Portuguese ambassador. There on October 12, Father Massey a Sancta Barbara Massey, was appointed to found the Maryland mission. We do not know the identity of Father Massey's companion, but the *Annual Letter* of the Maryland Jesuits for 1673 informs us that "Two Franciscans were sent last year from England as coadjutors in the labors of the mission, between whom and ourselves fraternal charity and offices of mutual friendship are exercised to the common good of the Catholic cause."

Fathers Polycarp Wicksted and Basil Hobart were sent to Maryland by the English Province in 1674, two years after the arrival of the first Franciscans. In 1676 Fathers Henry a Sancto Francisco Carew and Edward Golding came to raise the number of Friars Minor in Maryland to six. Father Massey continued as superior of the mission until 1677, when he was recalled to England by the chapter and made guardian of the friary in London. Father Henry Carew succeeded him and held the office of superior for three years. While returning to England in 1680 after the expiration of his appointment, Father Carew died at sea. Father Massey was re-appointed superior of the mission and remained in charge for four years, again being summoned

back to England where he died many years later, after holding successively the positions of guardian at Gronow and at Douai, of Vicar, Minister Provincial, and Commissary General. Father Basil Hobart died in Maryland in 1698. He was probably the zealous missionary mentioned in the reports from Charles' and St. Mary's Counties, which were made when Governor Nich Olson in 1698 ordered all sheriffs in the colony to make an investigation as to the number of priests, chapels and Catholics in their districts. Father Hobart maintained a chapel one and a half miles from Newport, Md. He died a victim of charity during the epidemic which swept Maryland in 1698. Shea writes: "The Franciscan Father Hobart and the Jesuit lay brother Nicholas Willart were perhaps victims of their zeal, early pioneers in the long catalogue of priests and religious who have been martyrs of charity in the land of Mary."

The chapter of 1700 appointed Fathers Bruno Taylor and Haddock to the Maryland mission, thereby raising the personnel to five friars. The records of their activity for the next twenty years are unfortunately very meager. We know that Father Haddock died in one of the Jesuit houses in 1720. Like the other missionaries, he had been persecuted by bigoted governors, who were appointed over the protest of Lord Baltimore. By way of compensation, Lord Baltimore ordered that a thousand pounds of tobacco be paid to Father Haddock. Father Wicksted died in 1725, somewhere in Maryland, the exact location of his death never having been ascertained. He brought to a close fifty glorious years of Franciscan missionary work in the colony of Maryland.

The Franciscans did not limit their activity to Maryland alone; like the Jesuits they ministered to Catholics in the other colonies. Father Haddock signs his name in one place as follows: "James

Haddock, of the Order of Friars Minor of the Stricter Observance, of the Province of England, missionary in Maryland and in other western regions." Shea suggests that probably Father Haddock ministered to the Catholics of Philadelphia at this time. Father Hennepin tells us that he was invited to New York by Catholics there, but that he was obliged to refuse; at the same time he makes mention of the English Franciscans from Maryland who had been active around New York and New Jersey. Shea writes: "There are indications that priests reached New York, either secular priests from Eng-

land or Franciscans from Maryland." About the year 1700 many Catholics, forced out of Maryland by persecution, entered the colony of Pennsylvania, and again Shea tells us: "There are indications that at an early day Pennsylvania was visited by some of the Franciscan Fathers."

Two Friars Minor from Scotland, Fathers Peter Gordon and Clement Hyslop, were doing missionary work in the colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Probably they labored in Pennsylvania and Maryland where many Scotch Catholics were transported from their native land for taking part in a rebellion which had for its purpose the placing of the son of James II., "Bonny Prince Charlie," upon the throne of England. "The two Scotch Franciscans," says Shea, "were apparently still in the country (when the transportation of their fellow countrymen took place) and may have ministered to them."

It is regrettable that such scant records have come down to us relating to the fifty years of Franciscan missionary endeavour in Maryland. That they were years of crowded activity, every historian admits. All the English colonies constituted their mission field. "The harvest was great, but the laborers were few." Weary and footsore, they traveled through the colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, too busy caring for the members of their widely scattered flocks to bother much about writing the history which they were making. But their zealous heroic deeds have been listed by the recording angel in letters of gold.

Beyond the Alleghanies, the Franciscans Denis Barron, Gabriel Amheuser and Luke Collet had exercised the sacred ministry about the year 1750. These Friars Minor labored in and around Pittsburgh, when the "Smoky City" was known as Fort Duquesne. But since Franciscan activity within the limits of the French possessions form the subject matter for another paper to be read at this Conference, I shall not venture to trespass upon those domains. Even though England did wrest possessions in America from both France and Spain before the Revolutionary War, I shall leave the recording of Franciscan missionary undertakings within those possessions to my worthy and more able confrères.

PART II

FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE FOUNDING OF THE
PRESENT PROVINCES.

Many Franciscans served as chaplains in the French army and navy during the Revolutionary War. We know that there were at least twenty Capuchin chaplains, and no doubt, as many Friars Minor. Some of these priests seeing the need for their ministrations, remained in the new country, **Military Chaplains** others returned to it after their period of service had expired. Among these was Father Sebastian De Rosey the Capuchin, who died in Maryland in 1812, after spending many fruitful years at St. Nicholas' Church there. Another famous chaplain was Father Seraphin Bandol, the Friar Minor, chaplain of the first French legation in the United States. Two sermons which he delivered before the members of Congress and other government and military officials have been referred to by such writers as Shea, Griffin and Guilday.

Gerard, the first French ambassador appointed for the United States, was conveyed secretly from France aboard the flagship of Comte D'Estaing. During the voyage, Gerard made the acquaintance of the chaplain of the ship, Seraphin **Friar Seraphin Bandol** Bandol, and they became such good friends that Father Bandol was invited to become the chaplain of the embassy in Philadelphia. He continued to serve as chaplain under Gerard's two successors, La Luzerne and Barbe de Marbois. When Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, La Luzerne felt it incumbent upon himself to take some part in the general rejoicing which this event called forth. He accordingly made arrangements for the singing of a Te Deum on November 3, 1781, at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia. At this service, Father Bandol delivered the sermon. Until the French embassy moved to New York in 1785, Father Seraphin helped Fathers Farmer and Molyneux in caring for the Catholics of Philadelphia. His name appears several times in the baptismal and marriage records preserved at old St. Joseph's in that city. Shea quotes Father Farmer as saying that Father Seraphin was a most zealous priest and that he sorely regretted the loss of his much needed services in Philadelphia. In 1785 he

moved to New York with Barbe de Marbois, and that is the last definite record we have of Father Bandol's career in America.

Another famous French naval chaplain was the Capuchin, Father Charles Whelan, attached to De Grasse's fleet. Born at Ballycommon, King's County, Ireland, in 1741, he entered the Order at Bar-sur-Aube, France, in 1771. Lafayette recommended him for a chaplaincy, and evidently while the fleet of De Grasse was in America, Father Whelan became acquainted with

the Catholics of New York. After his service as chaplain had expired and he had returned to Ireland, the New York Catholics wrote to request him to come over and work among them. He arrived in New York in 1785, and after a little delay was granted faculties by the Prefect Apostolic, John Carroll.

Father Whelan became pastor of St. Peter's Congregation in New York. He was an exemplary priest, zealous and saintly. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, Consul General of France, had organized the Catholics of New York into a congregation. The Common Council of the city refused him the use of the Exchange Building on Broad Street for the purpose of holding religious services. Although there was no church, he incorporated the congregation under the title of "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York," the trustees being de Crevecoeur, Jose Ruiz Silva, James Stewart and Henry Duffin. In the summer of 1785, Father Whelan bought a lease of five lots running from Barclay Street to Church Street. A carpenter's store standing on the property became the first Catholic Church in New York. In this Bethlehem Father Whelan offered Mass in the presence of his flock. In August of the same year Trinity Church, Protestant Episcopal from which he had bought the lease, sold him the ground outright.

Another Capuchin came to New York later in the year 1785. He was Father Andrew Nugent. Born in 1740 at Tealystown, County Longford, Ireland, he entered the Order in France in 1759, and before coming to the United States had held the offices of master of novices and guardian. Without faculties from Carroll, he set himself up as pastor in opposition to Father Whelan. New York being at that time the Capitol of the country, the members of Congress would attend Mass at St. Peter's and

sometimes would invite their non-Catholic friends to accompany them. Father Whelan although a zealous priest, was only a mediocre preacher; Father Nugent on the other hand had the reputation of being a great orator. Therefore, the trustees desiring to impress the visitors with fine sermons, were anxious to rid themselves of Whelan and make Nugent pastor. Father Whelan rightfully refused to go. On December 18, 1785, two of Nugent's adherents seized the collection, maintaining that the trustees had the right to remove Whelan. Dr. Carroll addressed a letter to the trustees condemning their practices and asserting that it would be tragic for the future of the Church in America if the trustees were to have complete control. "Instead of preaching the word of God fearlessly," wrote the Prefect Apostolic, "pastors would have to please their congregations, at whose whim they would hold their office." Carroll reminded them that they had no justification for removing Whelan, and he warned them against evicting him forcibly.

The building of a new church was started by Father Whelan and De Crevecoeur in October, 1785, under the patronage of the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego de Gardoqui. Designed as a handsome brick structure, 48 ft. front and 81 ft. in depth, the cornerstone was laid by De Gardoqui on October 5, 1785. Collections to defray the expense of the building were taken up all over Europe, the King of Spain giving one thousand dollars. While still using the carpenter's shop as a temporary chapel, Father Whelan pushed the work on the new church during the summer of 1786. He requested Carroll who was still only Prefect Apostolic to apply to Rome in time to obtain faculties for himself to consecrate the church when it would be completed. But in February, 1787, Father Whelan resigned his pastorate under pressure, and thus he was denied the consolation of seeing the church completed. He withdrew to Johnston, N. Y., whence he was sent by Carroll to Kentucky in the same year, 1787. Being the first Catholic priest to enter Kentucky, he settled at Pottingers Creek, fifteen miles from Bardstown. Suffering untold hardships in a country which was still only a wilderness, he cared for the Catholic settlers who had come out from Maryland and Virginia in his customary zealous manner, so that Carroll in a letter to the Capuchin Provincial in Ireland, written in 1788, commended

Whelan in the highest terms. In 1799, he was located at Mill Creek, Delaware, and he died with the Jesuits at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, on March 21, 1806, at the age of sixty-five. He was one of the greatest missionaries of the early Church in the United States, yet he died with a heart twice broken by ingratitude, once in New York and again in Kentucky, where the trustees brought a libel suit against him in a civil court. Although vindicated completely, there was no alternative left him but to withdraw from his beloved Kentucky, again driven forth by those who should have loved him, by men who did not appreciate and value his true worth until it was too late.

In the meantime, Carroll gave Andrew Nugent faculties "*usque ad revocationem*." The first Mass was celebrated in the new church on November 4, 1787, the name-day of Charles IV. of Spain. The edifice had previously been blessed by Nugent and placed under the patronage of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. Nugent, as pastor, celebrated the Mass, assisted by the chaplains of the French and Spanish delegations. De Gardoqui and his staff attended, and Father Nugent preached an appropriate sermon. Following the Mass a banquet was held at De Gardoqui's home, George Washington being present with several members of Congress and of the Diplomatic Corp. Shortly after this event, the people discovering Nugent's true character, wanted to be rid of him. A schism broke out, caused by the minority faction that wanted to keep Nugent. Carroll came to New York to restore peace. Nugent insisted upon saying the parochial Mass, so Carroll withdrew from the Church with half the congregation and said Mass at the Spanish embassy. Carroll then ordered the doors of the Church locked, intending to offer the parochial Mass himself on the following Sunday. But the opposition broke open the doors, and Nugent although now suspended by Carroll again said the Mass. The Prefect Apostolic, seeing that matters were only growing worse, withdrew to Baltimore. However, the trustees had recourse to law and succeeded in evicting Nugent, and although he hired a house in which he continued to say Mass sacrilegiously for his adherents, nevertheless, the schism came to an end with the appointment of Father William O'Brien, a Dominican, as the third pastor of St. Peter's. Nugent returned to France on the Talamaque in 1790, and died there five years later at the age of fifty-five.

In response to a letter written by a Paul Miller of Conewago, Pa., dated June 12, 1785, two Capuchins, Fathers John Baptist and Peter Helbron, brothers, came to the United States. They were appointed by Carroll to Goshenhoppen, Pa. When **The Two** the German element in Philadelphia broke away from **Helbrons** St. Mary's parish, they built their own church at Sixth and Spruce Streets. Carroll wanted them to take Father Graessel for their pastor, but they refused, saying that they would hold an election for the position. In the election Father Peter Helbron received seventy-five votes, Father John Baptist Causse, a Friar Minor who was truly a "*vagabundus*," having exercised his priestly office in Quebec, Halifax, Philadelphia and Lancaster, in which latter place he became a trustee of Franklin College, in the foundation of which he had a notable part, received twelve votes, while Father Lawrence Graessel, Carroll's appointee and afterwards Bishop-elect (dying before his consecration) received only five votes. Carroll confirmed the election by appointing Helbron pastor. The church took the title of Holy Trinity and became the first exclusively national church organized in America.

In the meantime, Carroll had been consecrated in England as Bishop of Baltimore with jurisdiction over the whole United States, his consecration being hastened by the Nugent affair in order to give him more authority in dealing with **Schism in** insubordinate priests. A certain Father John **Philadelphia** Nepomucene Goetz, a diocesan priest, at the vocation of the trustees—another instance of their unfortunate lay influence in ecclesiastical matters—supplanted Father Helbron as pastor of Holy Trinity. Goetz, in turn, was supplanted by a Father Elling, also a diocesan priest. When Bishop Carroll went to Philadelphia to restore peace, he was promptly hailed into court by the schismatics. However, Elling finally retracted with the trustees and Carroll appointed him pastor. Father Helbron, the victim of the pernicious trustee system, who had also attended Lancaster from 1789 to 1791 while at Holy Trinity, now withdrew to St. Joseph's, where he continued to minister to the Catholics of Philadelphia. His brother, Father John Baptist Helbron, had left America some years before the schism, and according to reliable documents, died a martyr in the French Revolution.

In 1801 Father Michael Egan, a Friar Minor of the Irish Province, was invited to America by the Catholics of Lancaster, Pa. He had been guardian of St. Isidore's, the famous Irish Franciscan College in Rome, and after his term of office had expired he had been on the mission in Ireland for many years. Arriving at Lancaster, he sought to serve as assistant to Father Louis de Barth. His simplicity and kindness won for the scholarly Franciscan the hearts of those with whom he came in contact. Bishop Carroll transferred him to St. Mary's Philadelphia. In 1803 Father Egan, supported by Bishop Carroll, petitioned for the erection of a Franciscan Province in the United States. A decree erecting an American province was actually issued in the summer of 1804 by Archbishop Valentini, then Minister General of the Friars Minor, and by the Sovereign Pontiff. A farm near Frankfort, Pa., was donated to become the birth-place of the new province and high hopes were entertained for it, but unfortunately no friars came to join Egan and nothing more was done.

Father Maurice Virola, an Italian Franciscan, setting out for the United States, took over with him the pallium for Carroll and the briefs erecting Baltimore an archdiocese, and establishing four new dioceses, namely, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown. Father Michael Egan was chosen bishop of the new diocese of Philadelphia, and was consecrated by Archbishop Carroll in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, on Sunday, October 28, 1810, his being the second episcopal consecration in the United States—the first being that of Bishop Neale, co-adjutor of Baltimore. The diocese of Philadelphia included the two states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, also the western and southern parts of New Jersey. Immediately after his consecration, Bishop Egan set out upon a visitation of his vast diocese. At Brownsville, he celebrated Mass in the home of Major Noble. At Loretto he was welcomed by the Priest-Prince Gallitzin. At Pittsburgh he confirmed for Father O'Brien. Altogether during this journey he confirmed 1460 persons. He erected a brick church at York in 1810, and another at Chambersburg in 1812. Returning to Philadelphia after his visitation he met with opposition at St. Mary's. The trustees had gone back upon their pledge to pay the expenses of his consecration and maintenance. Egan called a

meeting of the pew-holders at St. Joseph's Chapel where on September 21, 1812, they condemned the trustees and upheld the bishop. He had at this time as assistants at St. Mary's two Dominicans, Father Vincent Harold, the Vicar-General, and Father James Harold, an uncle of the former and the best preacher in the United States at the time.

Both Harolds opposed Egan in his fight against the trustees, and it is reported that James Harold went so far as to strike the Bishop. In the absence of Egan and his assistants, a new board of trustees held a meeting at which it was agreed to cut the bishop's salary to \$400 a year, this action being taken for the purpose of restoring the elder Harold, whom Egan had removed. But the Bishop was firm, so the younger Harold hoping to bring about an uprising on the part of the congregation, which however failed to materialize, resigned in February, 1813. The trustees wrote disrespectful letters concerning Egan to Archbishop Carroll, who loyally sided with the bishop, asserting that St. Mary's property had been deeded years previously to Father Robert Harding, the date of the deed being May 23, 1763. This had been placed on record by Bishop Egan on January 29, 1811, while the Hon. Thomas Fitzsimmons, one of the original witnesses, was still alive. Therefore, Carroll pointed out, the property did not belong to the trustees and they had no say in its administration. But this fight brought on the premature death of Bishop Egan. He died lying on the floor in the form of a cross before a picture of St. Francis of Assisi, about eleven o'clock at night, on July 22, 1814, in the pastoral residence adjoining St. Joseph's Church. According to Father O'Brien, then pastor at Pittsburgh, in his letter to Archbishop Carroll, Egan laid down his life as "the first victim of episcopal rights in the United States." His remains rest beneath the main altar in the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul in Philadelphia.

The Friar Minor Bonaventure Maguire founded St. Paul's Cathedral in Pittsburgh which, when it was finished and dedicated on May 4, 1834, was the largest and most imposing church edifice in the United States. He also founded St. Patrick's parish in the same city. Fathers Patrick Lonegran and Theodore Brouwers, Friars Minor, labored in western Pennsylvania before Father Maguire, about the year 1790. Also in Pittsburgh during

Persecuting

Bishop Egan

**Other Missionary
Friars**

the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Capuchin Fathers Sylvester Phelan and Thomas Flynn were active. Father Ivo Levitz, an Austrian Friar Minor, came to the United States in 1839 and for fifteen years ministered to the Catholics of New York and Pennsylvania, being for a time pastor of St. Nicholas' Church on Second Street, New York City, where he had as assistant Father Otto Skalla, also a Franciscan. Father Luke Fitzsimmons, a Friar Minor from Montreal, about the year 1800, stayed in Albany for a while; but being a mediocre preacher and failing to impress the visitors at the State Capitol, he was dismissed by the trustees. Other Friars Minor who labored in the New York Archdiocese during this period were Fathers Francis Caro, Anthony Haymo, and Zachary Kunz, the latter working among the German Catholics of New York City. He built St. John's Church on West Thirtieth Street in 1840, which due to the insubordination of the trustees was placed under interdict no less than four times. Forced out of St. John's by the trustees, Father Kunz built St. Francis' Church only half a block away on West Thirty-first Street in 1844. St. John's later on was given over to the care of the Capuchin Fathers, while the Friars Minor continued in charge of St. Francis'. At old St. Nicholas' Church on Second Street Father Ambrose Buchmeyer, a Capuchin, was pastor in 1844.

And thus we arrive at the beginnings of the present Franciscan Provinces in the United States. This paper now draws to a close with a word of well merited praise for the glorious Franciscan pioneers of the past, whose heroic deeds have been recorded summarily herein, who blazed the trail before us and in whose inheritance we joyfully dwell. The Conventuals and the Members of the Third Order Regular have since entered the field, and Franciscan brothers all, we fervently pray that the greatness of the early days may augur well for our success in the days to come. May their love for God and charity for his creatures be incentives for us, the present Franciscans, to strive heroically, as they did, to further the Kingdom of Christ all over the earth, but especially here in our own United States.

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DISCUSSION

FR. DONALD SHEARER, O.M.Cap.:—The part played by the sons of St. Francis in the early history of the American Colonies is not sufficiently known and at this date the complete history of their activities has not been written.

One point in particular that only recently has been brought to light by Fr. John Lenhart, O.M.Cap., concerns the important question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Colonies. June 9, 1784, is usually taken as the date when the American Colonies first came under the jurisdiction of a Prefect Apostolic. But as a matter of fact, the first "Prefect Apostolic of New England" was appointed on November 22, 1630, and was none other than the famous Capuchin, François Leclerc du Tremblay, the right hand man of Cardinal Richelieu.

The establishment of the Prefecture was due to the efforts of a certain Discalced Carmelite, Friar Simon Stock of Holy Mary Doughty. This Friar wrote a number of letters to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda fide and in one of these letters written in 1625 warned the Holy See that a mission should be established in the New World "to safeguard the salvation of the Philippines, China and East India, lest they be wholly corrupted, for it is easy to pass from North America" to these countries. *Prop. Archives, Atti*, July 21, 1625, f. 245, in R. Corrigan, S.J., *Die Propaganda-Kongregation und ihre Taetigkeit in Nord-Amerika*, Munich, 1928, 87, 88.

The question of sending a mission to the Colonies was considered by the Congregation on this and subsequent occasions. Finally, on September 21, 1630, Propaganda decided that "Catholic missionaries should be sent into

Appointment of Capuchins

the New World as soon as possible to impede the progress of the Puritans, and minister to the Catholic settlers, and that, therefore, the Procurator General of the Capuchins be charged to arrange with Father Joseph of Paris that a mission of French and English Capuchins be established in New England under the usual conditions, viz., that the said Father Joseph be Prefect of the Mission who must send a list of the names and number of the missionaries and report some future time about their progress" (*Prop. Archives, Atti*, 1630, f. 164). On February 3, 1631, Propaganda commissioned the Procurator General of the Capuchin Order to see to it "that the Provincial of the Parisian Capuchins establish the said Mission as soon as possible, in case that Father Joseph who was first charged with this mission be absent from Paris" (*Ibid., Lettere*, vol. 391, f. 12; *Atti*, vol. VII, part 2, f. 18).

Eventually, the Prefecture of New England was merged with the newly-established Prefecture of Acadia entrusted to the Capuchins to form the one Prefecture Apostolic of Canada.

The territorial boundaries of the Prefecture could hardly have been more

extensive and, at the same time, within the bounds of reason. When Father Hyacinth of Paris was nominated superior of the Mission on February 12, 1639, the Prefecture was described as comprising "New

Extent of the Prefecture

France, Virginia and Florida." "Virginia," at the time, was used to designate both the New England and the Southern Colonies. As such, the Prefecture extended over the entire Atlantic coast. Later, in 1641, the Capuchin, Fr. Pacificus of Provins, who was appointed Prefect Apostolic, asked that his Prefecture be extended to all parts of North America "where the French live and where there are no other religious"—meaning by this, the French West Indies. This petition was granted on February 14, 1642 (*Prop. Arch., Atti*, 1642, vol. XV, f. 29). Thereafter, Fr. Pacificus is styled "Prefect of the Capuchin Mission of Canada and North America." After Fr. Pacificus' death (he was killed and devoured by cannibals in the West Indies in 1649), the Prefecture was restricted and was finally abandoned in 1654.

The documents pertaining to the establishment of the Capuchin Prefecture in the New World were published for the first time by Fr. John M. Lenhart in an article entitled "An Important Chapter in American Church History," *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII (1928), pp. 500-524. Some of the documents are given in Fr. R. Corrigan's dissertation quoted above.

FR. HAROLD BLAKE, O.F.M.:—Fr. Oliver's scholarly summary of Franciscan activity in the English Colonies illustrates in glory to our Order the remark of Kossuth that: "History is the revelation of

The Work of Providence

Providence." In the light of the facts which have been reviewed in the previous sessions of this Conference, the inner monologue of our thoughts will be grateful for the especial destiny given the sons of St. Francis in the Christianizing of America.

It would seem that Fr. Oliver's topic is singularly apposite, for although libraries have been written on the activity of the friars in New Spain relatively nothing has been written concerning their work in the colonies settled by the English emigrants. In remembering that from San Diego to Sonoma the Spanish friars blazoned the El Camino Real, we should not forget that their brethren from Ireland, Scotland and England were civilizing and baptizing in Georgia, Pennsylvania, New York and New England.

Contemporary literature stresses the Puritanical roots of American culture, miraculously oblivious of the spiritual and cultural achievements of the friars in the English-speaking colonies. Thode wrote of Our Holy Father St. Francis

St. Francis and Culture

that "by reforming, intensifying, and invigorating religious life," he at the same time exerted the widest influence on culture in general and on poetry and art in particular." Only in isolated instances are we given some history of the sons of Francis who in this latter day removed to a new continent and sowed the seeds of a culture which in little more than a century has produced a *last* Puritan.

When the cultural history of the pioneer days comes to be written, credit for the spade-work and for discovering to the colonists the taproots of civilization will be given to men like Frs. Plunkett, d'Allion and Watteaux. Without the racial solidarity which made possible the heroic successes of the Spanish friars, these men, laboring in a solitary work, widened the narrow boundaries of colonial thought and paved the way for the great diocesan centres of the East.

Daily it becomes more obvious that in our own land, as in all Christendom, there are but two extant cultures; the pagan and the Christian. All other intermingling currents in the flow of contemporary thought may be classified in Belloc's definition as, "Survivals or New Arrivals."

Christianity vs. Paganism

To trace the Christian Culture in the New England colonies to the years of its sowing is to remember the names and deeds of the early friars who labored there.

When that work is accomplished not in piecemeal digests but in thorough-going scientific works, the secular savants will be given to understand how little of what is good, true, and beautiful, substantial and enduring in the American panorama is traceable to the posterity of John Alden and Priscilla and how very much of it was wrought by the posterity of Francis, Dominic and Ignatius.

It is no longer invidious publicly to doubt some of the putative manifold excellences of the fabulous cargo of the Mayflower, for our best historians and philosophers of history in evaluating the foundations of American society are attaching less glory to Plymouth Rock and increasingly more to the Rock that is Peter. The unemancipated Puritan intellect, frozen in the frigid romanceless ideology of Calvinism could not for long be the staple of the melting pot which is contemporary America. That upright, severely practical, hardworking mentality of Puritanism

Plymouth Rock and the Rock of Peter

was too inhuman and, therefore, too untrue to found a lasting culture which might serve, or engage in service even one race. Emerson, according to his lights loosed many of its shackles and thawed many of its frozen gyves; but Emerson was himself sprung of the same tradition (background), and lacking the nameless charm of the Catholic Old World he could not teach it to sing. Washington Irving had borrowed some beauty for it from Catholic associations, but it was not until Longfellow crossed the seas to a Catholic land that the colonies of the States accepted Catholic culture under another label. The Old World was "Catholicism lived in flesh and blood" and Longfellow wrote that to him it was "a kind of holy land lying afar off beyond the blue horizon of the ocean; and when its shores first rose upon my sight, my heart swelled with the deep emotions of the pilgrim when he sees afar the spire of his devotion."

Longfellow according to the accepted historians of the past was the first to bring varied color to American life after the Puritans had broken the stained glass windows and white-washed the walls. Such Conferences as this will

American Literature and Catholic Inspiration

hasten the day when the work of our own confrères in bringing to this land the treasure for which Longfellow traveled to Europe and absorbed at second-hand, will be generally recognized. The praesidio, the gubernatore, the landed estates which composed the tissue and fabric of Californian activity were lacking to the New England Franciscan pioneers. The staple of community life upon which the individual friar depends for his atmosphere and element was never enjoyed by these men who labored individually and alone in the hinterlands of Christianity. The paucity of the missionaries, of whatever Order, who came to these regions reflects heroic glory on those who came and conquered. No such harvest as that which was given Serra and his brethren could be expected of them, for they lacked the territorial and racial solidarity of New Spain.

Fr. Oliver is to be congratulated on the clarity and completeness of his summary. In using Carlyle's device of accepting history as "the science of great names" he has covered the span of the years between the settlement of the colonies and the founding of the republic.

THE PRESENT PROVINCES OF THE THREE FRANCISCAN FAMILIES

FR. THEODORE ROEMER, O.M.Cap., Ph.D.

The complete title of this paper is: The Founding and Present Status of the Provinces, Commissariats and Custodies of the Three Franciscan Families in North America. Since there are twenty-five established units on this continent, it will be apparent that it is impossible to treat the subject adequately within the time-limit of half an hour. Although many figures have been relegated to maps and charts, no more than a cursory sketch can be given about the founding and achievements of the First Order of Saint Francis in North America. The writer has attempted no more. Since, moreover, his theme covers the existing units, he does not consider it necessary to differentiate between the various units of the Friars Minor prior to the Leonine Union of 1897, but writes simply about the Friars Minor, the Conventual Friars and the Capuchin Friars. Because he is discussing the Franciscan Movement in North America as such, he will list the respective units in the order of their founding, regardless of the family to which they belong. Each new unit is a step in promoting the progress of the Franciscan spirit.

I. PROGRESS

Although the Franciscan Movement extended to most fronts of the North American Continent during the periods of discovery and exploration, its early fruits were largely dissipated due to existing world conditions. The decimation in the ranks of the religious orders, brought about by *enlightenment* and revolution in Europe, reduced the number of friars available for mission work. Political changes on this continent brought new problems and new fronts of attack. It must then seem providential that even one region, the great Southwest, could be preserved in the Franciscan spirit and held in part to the present.

Mexico remains the binding link with the early past. The five provinces and four independent colleges of the Friars Minor during the last century testify to the vigor of Franciscan life. But

Mexico, the Binding Link even this could not withstand all the onslaughts of persecution. In 1908, the Minister General was compelled to contract these nine units into three provinces, each with a Commissary, under one General Commissary. Further persecutions of the Church decimated the ranks of the friars in Mexico, but they have not been able to obliterate the Franciscan organization. The three provinces still maintain three skeleton units with eighty-eight priests, thirty-nine clerics and thirty-nine lay-brothers. They have even succeeded in securing three cleric novices and seven lay novices. We can only hope and pray that this indomitable Franciscan spirit will in time breathe new spiritual life into the persecuted country of Mexico.

The Friars Minor also preserved a remnant of Father Junipero Serra's work at Santa Barbara, California. But this mission maintained a very precarious existence and, by 1884, was threatened with extinction. The Sacred Heart Province **Friars Minor of Santa Barbara** then came forward to prevent the catastrophe. Such valuable assistance was given that the dying ember was fanned to life and became a steady flame of Seraphic Love. In 1916, it was strong enough to become the Santa Barbara Province. That this arrangement was not a mere sentimental gesture on the part of the superiors of the Order can be seen from the fact that this province now counts 212 professed members. Thus the Friars Minor have preserved a bond with the friars of old even in the United States, and at the same time have demonstrated the vigor of the later Franciscan Movement in North America.

In the East of our continent, the official bonds with the past were severed. Unofficial links were preserved in the missionary work of individual friars. With the permission of their superiors they came and went, hallowing our soil with the sweat of their labors. Some of their names have been perpetuated through the researches of interested friars; most of them are still waiting for a biographer.

The official return of the friars east of the Mississippi started during the "Roaring Forties," which brought to our shores the "Irish Invasion and the Teutonic Tide." Bishop John Purcell **Friars Minor of Cincinnati** was in great need of missionaries for the ever growing German population of his diocese. His appeal for help to the Friars Minor of the Tyrolean Province drew Father William Unterthiener

to Cincinnati in 1844. Other friars of the same province followed. American young men joined them. In 1885, this group was proclaimed the Province of Saint John the Baptist. It has now 361 professed members to testify that it has valid reason for existence as a branch of the tree of the Seraphic Order.

The next decade of Know-Nothingism saw the inauguration of no less than four provinces, representing all three branches of the Order. The beginning of this series was made by the Conventual Friars in the Diocese of Galveston, Texas. At the earnest solicitation of Bishop Odin, a group of Bavarian friars, under the leadership of Father Bonaventure Keller, took up the work in this difficult mission. The difficulties proved too great. New attempts were therefore made in Brooklyn and Pittsburgh. These also proved abortive. Finally, in 1858, the invitation of Bishop McCloskey of the Diocese of Albany was heeded, and a firm establishment was made at Syracuse to help the German Catholics of the diocese. Only fourteen years later, this unit was made the Province of the Immaculate Conception, the first of the present provinces in the United States. In time this province became the fruitful mother of two other provinces and even turned to the Old World to take charge of the Conventual Commissariat in England. Despite the various separations, the Province of the Immaculate Conception still has 162 friars.

During this period New York also witnessed the beginning of a unit of the Friars Minor. In 1855, Bishop Timon of Buffalo, through the generous help of Mr. Nicholas Devereux, secured the assistance of a small group of Italian friars under Father Pamphilus. The plan was to establish a college at Allegany, so that from this center spiritual ministrations might be given to the Catholics in a wide circle. An establishment was made at Ellicottville, and then the friary at Allegany with its college was established. Gradually friars of other nationalities joined the Italian friars. This, as we shall see, led to new alignments in 1901.

In the meantime the Capuchin Friars made their first permanent foundation in Wisconsin. It was at Mount Calvary, in the year 1857. Bishop Henni of Milwaukee offered the Mount to the Swiss secular priests, Reverend Gregory Haas and Reverend John Frey, who had petitioned him for a site on which they might lay the foundations for the Capuchin Order in the

**Capuchin
Province of
St. Joseph**

United States. Father Haas became Father Francis; Father Frey became Father Bonaventure. The little friary has grown into the Province of Saint Joseph, with 258 professed friars.

In 1858, another foundation of the Friars Minor was made in the Middlewest at Teutopolis. Father Gregory Janknecht, Minister Provincial of the Province of the Holy Cross in Germany, sent a group of priests and brothers,—the priests being Father Damian Hennewig, Father Capistran Zwinge and Father Servatius Altmicks—to assist Bishop Juncker in his newly organized diocese of Alton. Other friars followed, but the greatest increase came during the Kulturkampf years. Thus was born the Province of the Sacred Heart, which now numbers 447 professed friars. This province should be gratefully remembered for the help given to rehabilitate the Province of Santa Barbara.

During the Civil War decade no new units were formed in the United States, but the following decade brought the Kulturkampf friars. First, the Capuchins, Father Hyacinth Epp and Father Matthew Hau came, in 1873, to find a possible refuge for their Capuchin confrères in Bavaria. Bishop Domenech of Pittsburgh gave them charge of Saint Augustine's parish in his episcopal city. In 1875, the Rheno-Westphalian Capuchins sent over Father Anthony Schuermann and Father Francis Wolf. They settled in the abandoned friary of the Carmelites at Cumberland, Maryland. The friars of both groups were united in 1881; and, a year later, this group was proclaimed the Province of Saint Augustine, which now has 217 professed friars.

The Friars Minor of the Province of Fulda in Germany were driven from their homeland in 1875. After a long and fruitless search, they were at last able to start a friary at Croghan, New York, and another at Paterson, New Jersey. To all intents, the Fulda Province was transplanted to this country as the Commissariat of Saint Elizabeth. When settled conditions again prevailed in Germany some of the friars returned home. The work begun in this country was, however, not abandoned. As we shall see, it found its fruition in 1901.

The next foundation was made only at the end of the eighties. It was the present Commissariat of the Assumption of the Blessed

Friars Virgin Mary, which was started in 1887, at Pulaski,
Minor, Wisconsin, singularly by a lay-brother of the Friars
Wisconsin Minor, Brother Augustine Zeytz. Great difficulties
 were encountered, but at the turn of the century the
 upturn came that brought the independence of the
 commissariat in 1910. It is now a distinctly Polish commissariat,
 numbering 180 professed friars.

About the end of the eighties the friars in France encountered
 great difficulties on account of the anti-religious laws. Therefore,
 the Minister Provincial of the Friars Minor, Father Otto, was
 ordered by his higher superiors to establish a refuge in
Friars Canada. A beginning was made at Montreal in 1890.
Minor, For the next twenty years this friary, and others founded
Canada after it, constituted only an extension of the French
 province. After the laws of 1904, the province was
 practically transplanted to Canada. After the World War the
 French friars began to drift back to France. The Canadian friars
 were then gathered into a commissariat of their own, which be-
 came the Province of Saint Joseph in 1927. It has 338 professed
 friars.

Capuchin Friars of France also came to Canada in 1890.
 Father Ladislav and Father Alexis established the
Capuchin first friary at Ottawa. Their further work did not
Friars, extend over a very great territory, but it seems to be
Canada all the more intensive. In 1934, the 129 professed
 friars were united in their own commissariat.

In 1897, the Commissariat of the Holy Land took its present
 form, when it was transferred from New York to Washington,
 D. C. It had been founded in 1882.
Commissariat, O.F.M., Father Godfrey Schilling laid the founda-
Washington, D. C. tions for Mount Saint Sepulchre, thus
 directing the attention of the faithful to
 the heritage of the Order in the Holy Places. The commissariat
 now numbers 50 professed friars.

The beginning of the twentieth century brought to the United
 States the first significant results of the Leonine Union of 1897.
 The friars of the Fulda Commissariat and the
Friars Minor non-Italian friars of the Immaculate Conception
of the Commissariat were united, September 16, 1901,
Holy Name to form the newly erected Province of the Most
 Holy Name. The rapid growth of the new prov-

ince vindicated the wisdom of this arrangement. At present this province has 452 professed friars.

The Commissariat of the Immaculate Conception was reserved, after 1901, exclusively to the Italian friars. They made such consistent progress that, in 1911, the commissariat became the Province of the Immaculate Conception. Despite the restriction to candidates speaking the Italian language, it has grown to 147 professed members.

Another language group was formed in 1903, when the Conventual Friars of Polish descent were taken from the Province of the Immaculate Conception and united in a commissariat. Progress was so rapid that, in 1905, this commissariat became the Province of Saint Anthony, which has been of incalculable value to the Catholics of Polish descent in the United States. The province is the spiritual mother of 279 professed friars.

About the same time, English Capuchins came to this country and began missionary work among the neglected Catholics on the Pacific coast. When a mission district was later confided to them in India, they lacked sufficient men for the double field and gradually turned over their American stations to the Irish Capuchins, who had also entered this field in 1911. That the work of the 36 Irish friars is successful may be gleaned from the circumstance that they have just opened their own novitiate in Delaware. The English Capuchins returned to the United States in 1926, and are occupied in mission and retreat work throughout the East.

During this period several Friars Minor began to labor among the Slovenes, Croats and Slovaks of the United States. In order to secure more unified work, they were united in the Commissariat of the Holy Cross in the year 1912. With the coming of more friars, it was found possible to separate the three groups. In 1926, a new Commissariat of the Holy Family was formed for the Croat friars, while the Commissariat of the Holy Cross was reserved to the Slovenian friars. In 1929, the Commissariat of the Most Holy Savior was formed for the Slovak friars. These three groups have 86 professed friars.

Other Friars Minor are working among the Hungarians. Although there seems to be little prospect for an extension of this work, since the children of the Hungarian immigrants prefer to join English-speaking groups, these friars are giving themselves wholeheartedly for the good of those Hungarians, who need their help. Ten belong to the Hungarian Commissariat, and nine others are working independently, subject only to their superiors in Hungary and Roumania.

The Italian Capuchins of the Etruscan Province are also doing efficient group work among the Italians in New York and New Jersey. They first came, in 1913, to help the members of Saint Joseph Province in New York. Since 1918, they have their own commissariat and are now looking forward to a healthy growth through the candidates in their seraphic seminary. The commissariat has 34 professed friars.

The Belgian Capuchins have been working among the Flemings of Canada since 1927. The twelve professed friars are still encountering the early difficulties of the foundation years.

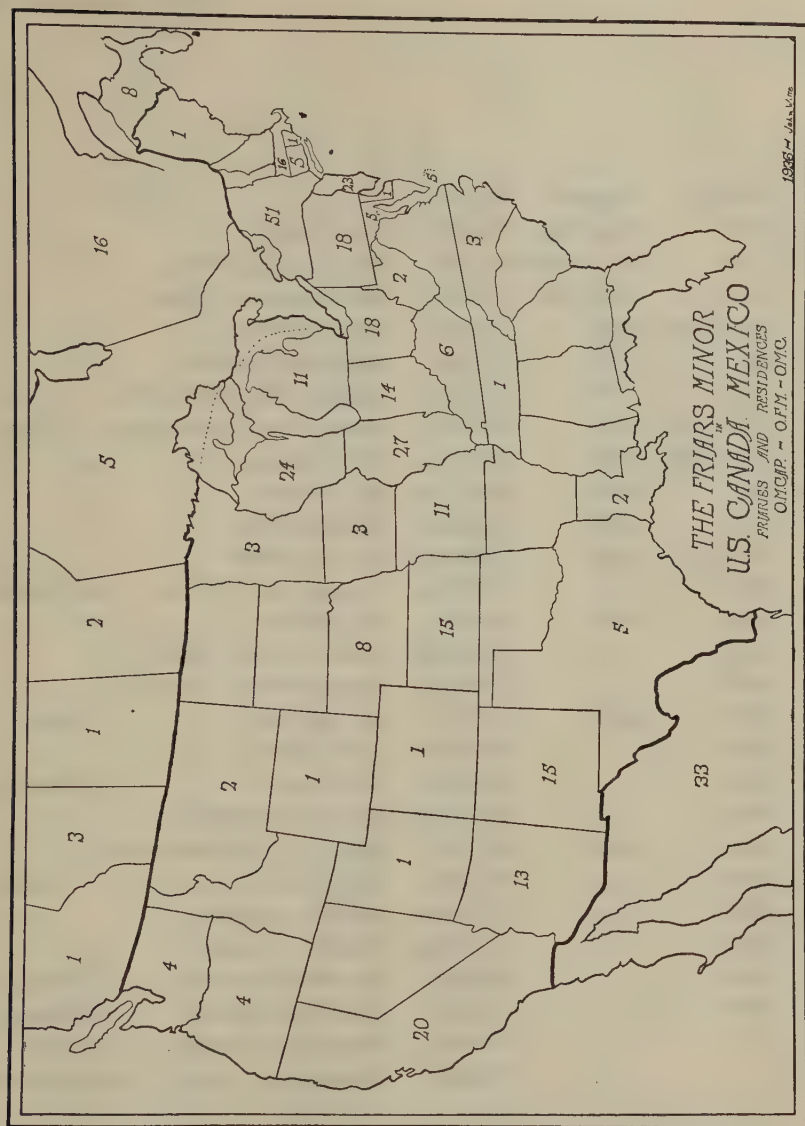
The last of the big units to be formed was the Province of Our Lady of Consolation of the Conventual Friars. It was separated from the Province of the Immaculate Conception in 1926. At present it has 96 professed friars, and bids fair to grow into a unit of imposing influence.

To summarize, the three Franciscan Families have now in North America 2,046 priests, 959 professed clerics and 684 professed lay-brothers. Counting the 215 cleric novices and the 46 lay novices, we can speak of 3,950 members of the First Order. They reside in 405 friaries, hospices and residences, each a center of Franciscan activity from which radiates the Franciscan spirit. Not counting Mexico, we can say that the friars are established in each of the fifteen ecclesiastical provinces of the United States and in all but one of the eleven ecclesiastical provinces of Canada.

TABLE I

FRIARS MINOR		FRIARIES AND RESIDENCES		
UNITED STATES:	O.F.M.	O.M.C.	O.M.Cap.	Total
Alabama .....	..	..	..	..
Arizona	13	..	..	13
Arkansas .....	..	..	..	..
California	11	1	8	20
Colorado	1	..	..	1
Connecticut	2	3	..	5
Delaware .....	..	..	1	1
District of Columbia.	3	1	1	5
Florida .....	..	..	..	..
Georgia .....	..	..	..	..
Idaho .....	..	..	..	..
Illinois	21	6	..	27
Indiana	8	5	1	14
Iowa	3	..	..	3
Kansas	6	..	9	15
Kentucky	4	2	..	6
Louisiana	2	..	..	2
Maine	1	..	..	1
Maryland .....	..	4	1	5
Massachusetts	6	10	..	16
Michigan	6	4	1	11
Minnesota	3	..	..	3
Mississippi .....	..	..	..	..
Missouri	9	2	..	11
Montana	1	..	1	2
Nebraska	6	1	1	8
Nevada .....	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire .....	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	10	9	4	23
New Mexico	13	2	..	15
New York	22	22	7	51
North Carolina	2	1	..	3
North Dakota .....	..	..	..	..
Ohio	14	2	2	18
Oklahoma .....	..	..	..	..
Oregon	1	..	3	4
Pennsylvania	12	2	4	18
Rhode Island .....	..	..	1	1
South Carolina .....	..	..	..	..

UNITED STATES:	O.F.M.	O.M.C.	O.M.Cap.	Total
South Dakota.....	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	1	..	..	1
Texas	5	..	..	5
Utah	1	..	..	1
Vermont .....	..	..	..	..
Virginia .....	..	..	..	..
Washington	4	..	..	4
West Virginia.....	..	..	2	2
Wisconsin	13	5	6	24
Wyoming .....	..	1	..	1
CANADA:				
Alberta	3	..	..	3
British Columbia...	1	..	..	1
Manitoba .....	..	..	2	2
New Brunswick	8	..	..	8
Ontario	3	..	2	5
Quebec	7	5	4	16
Saskatchewan	1	..	..	1
Nova Scotia.....	..	..	..	..
Yukon .....	..	..	..	..
MEXICO:	33	..	..	33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	260	88	61	409



THE FRIARS MINOR

	FOUNDATION	PROVINCE	BRANCH	TITLE	
1.	1523	1534-1908	O.F.M.	Holy Gospel	Mexico
2.	1559	1565-1908	O.F.M.	Sts. Peter & Paul	Mexico
3.	1559	1603-1908	O.F.M.	Sts. Francis & James	Mexico
4.	1769-1885	1915	O.F.M.	Santa Barbara	
5.	1844	1885	O.F.M.	St. John Baptist	
6.	1852	1872	O.M.C.	Immaculate Conception	
7.	1855-1901	1911	O.F.M.	Immaculate Conception—Italian	
8.	1855-1875	1901	O.F.M.	Holy Name	
9.	1857	1882	O.M.Cap.	St. Joseph	
10.	1858	1879	O.F.M.	Sacred Heart	
11.	1873-1875	1882	O.M.Cap.	St. Augustine	
12.	1887	....	O.F.M.	Assumption B. V. M.	—Polish Comm.
13.	1890	1927	O.F.M.	St. Joseph	Canada
14.	1890	....	O.M.Cap.	Comm. Sacred Heart	Canada
15.	1897	....	O.F.M.	Comm. of the Holy Land	
16.	1903	1905	O.M.C.	St. Anthony	—Polish
17.	1911	....	O.M.Cap.	Irish Custody	
18.	1912	....	O.F.M.	Holy Cross	—Slovenian Comm.
19.	1918	....	O.M.Cap.	Italian Commissariat	
20.	1926	1926	O.M.C.	Our Lady of Consolation	
21.	1926	....	O.F.M.	Holy Family	—Croatian Comm.
22.	1926	....	O.M.Cap.	English Custody	
23.	1927	....	O.M.Cap.	Belgian Custody	Canada
24.	1928	....	O.F.M.	St. John Capistrano	—Hungarian Comm.
25.	1929	....	O.F.M.	Most Holy Savior	—Slovak Comm.
26.	....	....	O.F.M.	Hungarian Custody (St. Mary)	
27.	....	....	O.F.M.	Hungarian Custody (St. Stephen-Roumania)	

N NORTH AMERICA

	PROFESSED			NOVICES		Friaries & Residences	SEMINARIES Min. & Maj.	FOREIGN MISSIONS Priests	Brothers	INDIAN MISSIONS Priests	Brothers	NEGRO MISSIONS Priests	Brothers
	Priests	Clerics	Brothers	Clerics	Brothers								
	15	4	8	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	49	23	10	..	5	19	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	24	12	21	2	2	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	127	33	52	10	3	28	3	4	1	16	7	1	..
	218	103	40	22	3	57	3	12	1	20	9	6	..
	102	51	9	14	..	26	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
	75	60	12	20	..	21	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
	237	120	95	55	6	20	4	12	2	..	..	1	1
	140	63	55	19	4	15	4	1	..	5	1	3	..
	274	84	89	15	2	38	3	19	..	12	7	2	..
	141	39	37	6	..	19	3	12	1	..	..	..	..
	52	63	65	9	2	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
	170	87	81	12	9	22	4	41	8	1	2	..	..
	50	41	38	3	5	5	2	3	3	1	..	..	..
	10	11	29	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	160	100	19	16	3	42	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
	33	..	3	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	21	14	7	2	..	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	22	10	2	3	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	68	28	..	4	..	20	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	18	1	1	1	..	10
	7	..	1	1
	8	1	3	3
	7	1	2	2
	9	10	5	2	..	3
	2	1
	7	6
TOTALS	2046	959	684	215	46	409	43	107	16	55	26	13	1

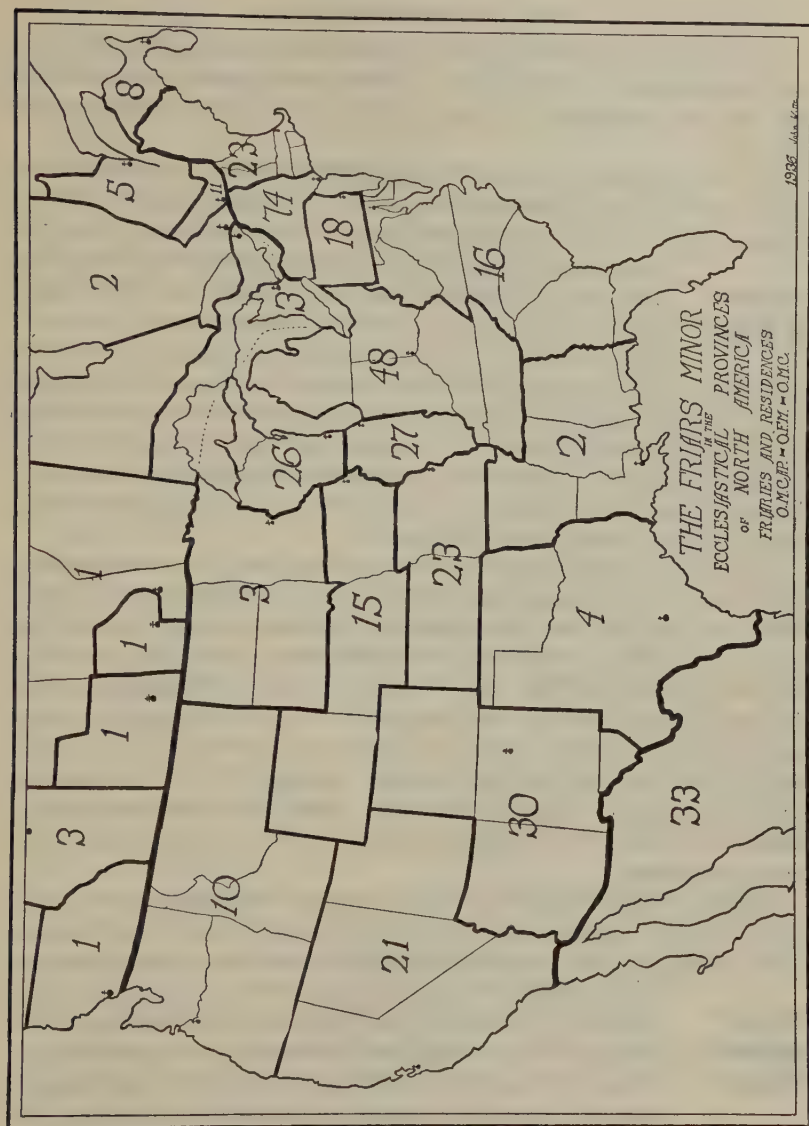
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TABLE II

FRIARS MINOR				
ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCES		FRIARIES AND RESIDENCES		
UNITED STATES:				
	O.F.M.	O.M.C.	O.M.Cap.	Total
Baltimore	5	6	5	16
Boston	9	13	1	23
Chicago	21	6	..	27
Cincinnati	31	13	4	48
Dubuque	12	2	1	15
Milwaukee	15	5	6	26
New Orleans	2	..	..	2
New York	32	31	11	74
Philadelphia	12	2	4	18
Portland (Oregon) ..	6	..	4	10
St. Louis	12	2	9	23
St. Paul	3	..	..	3
San Antonio	4	..	..	4
San Francisco	12	1	8	21
Santa Fe	28	2	..	30
				— 340
CANADA:				
Edmonton	3	..	..	3
Halifax	8	..	..	8
Kingston .....	..	..	..	..
Montreal	5	5	1	11
Ottawa	1	..	1	2
Quebec	2	..	3	5
Regina	1	..	..	1
St. Boniface .....	..	..	1	1
Toronto	2	..	1	3
Vancouver	1	..	..	1
Winnipeg .....	..	..	1	1
				— 36
MEXICO:	33	..	..	33
				— 33
	260	88	61	409



II. ACHIEVEMENTS

After these dates and figures, it will be proper to inquire about the achievements of the friars. Dates and figures mean little if they are not supported by results. How do the friars stand in this regard?

In the first place, it must be remembered that the friars, after 1844, came to help preserve the faith of the immigrants. At the beginning the Irish immigrants were in the majority, but they were soon surpassed in numbers by the Germans. On **Purpose of Advent** account of the sad conditions in Ireland, not many Irish missionaries could be expected from the religious Orders. In the German countries, on the contrary, the religious communities were spurred on to offer their services in this country by the encouragement and financial aid of the Leopoldinen-Stiftung of Vienna and the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich. Later the Kulturkampf compelled many religious to leave their country. This will explain in part the German origin of most earlier provinces.

As soon as other nations sent their immigrants to our country, the friars of those countries followed or accompanied them. Evidence of this is the formation of national groups among the friars themselves. Thus we have the Polish and Italian provinces. In later times we find the French, Flemish, Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatia and Slovak groups. But even the provinces that had become entirely American, had some of their friars work among the various foreign-language groups. It is part of the Franciscan spirit to serve all men. And even our immigrating brethren in the very beginning sought to be of assistance to the born Americans.

Quite naturally this work was centered in parishes to be more effective and because the bishops demanded this. And so the friars built up these parishes with all the means at their disposal.

Friars It was effective work, as can be seen from the good results. Whatever the demands of the times, the **As Parish** friars tried to comply with them for the good of souls. **Priests** This, for example, is the reason for their early organization of parochial grade and even high schools. The underlying idea of helping souls is also the reason why the friars returned so many parishes to the dioceses when their help was no

longer needed—one province lists more than sixty such transfers—why they kept so many of the former larger churches when they could serve only as mission churches. Therefore, this work of the friars in the parishes should be counted a great achievement of the friars for the good of the Church in North America.

But the friaries connected with the parish churches, and other friaries built independent, also became centers of many kinds of social work. We need think only of the many sinners shriven in our confessionals—the friars have always been favored
Variety of Work as confessors. We are reminded of the many bodily works of mercy performed on the naked and the hungry in time of need. We know of the numerous chaplains in hospitals, prisons and charitable institutions. The friars have always been interested in the welfare of youth—let only the Catholic Boys' Brigade be mentioned. Despite the heavy parish work, the friars have always kept some of the confrères occupied in directing popular missions and in conducting retreats. Even now they are in the front ranks of the private retreat movement. And, over and over again, the value of the Third Order has been brought to the fore in its importance for the reformation of the world. It is true that we did not always do the extremely possible,—we also have our human limitations,—but it is just as true that really great things have been done in a quiet manner.

Furthermore, the influence of the friars on very various religious communities will probably never become known in its entirety. The friars have spent themselves as chaplains and confessors in communities of Brothers and Sisters. The founding of many of these institutions is due to the direct or indirect influence of the friars. The continuance of others is due entirely to the untiring efforts of one or the other friar.

All these achievements would be sufficient glory for any religious community. Yet, from the very beginning, the friars directed their attention also to other works outside their direct sphere of influence. Even if they were rather slow in entering the field of the Negro apostolate, for which many
Negro and Indian Apostolate reasons could be adduced, they are now in charge of eight Negro parishes and have 13 priests working in them.

On the other hand, the friars have always kept an interest in the Indians. Whenever possible, such missions were adopted.

The work of such missions now extends from the Indians in Canada, through the reservations in Michigan, Wisconsin and Montana, down to the many districts in the Southwest, where the friars have again taken up their heritage of earlier days and are laboring most zealously amidst great privations. They have charge of 14 such districts and have 55 priests and 26 lay-brothers occupied in them.

Even in the foreign mission field the friars of North America have made great forward strides since the beginning of this century. Before that time, individual friars followed the call to the foreign missions with the permission of their superiors, despite the dearth of workers in our own country, and one of the Conventual Friars, Father Fidelis Dehm, was made Vicar Apostolic in Moldavia as early as 1878.

Since 1900, various provinces have accepted mission districts of their own. The Province of Saint John the Baptist has the Vicariate of Wuchang, Hupeh, China, with its own Most Reverend Sylvester Espelage, O.F.M., as Vicar Apostolic. The Province of the Sacred Heart has the Prefecture of Changtien, China, with its own Right Reverend Ambrose Pinger, O.F.M., as Prefect Apostolic. The Province of Saint Joseph in Canada has the Prefecture of Kagoshima, Japan, with its Right Reverend Egide-Marie Roy, O.F.M., as Prefect Apostolic. The Province of the Most Holy Name has been put in charge of the sub-prefecture of Shasi, Hupeh, China. And the work confided to the Capuchin Friars of Saint Augustine's Province in Puerto Rico can be classed among the foreign mission work in the full sense of the word. New districts seem in the offing for other provinces. Others, again, have individual friars, or groups of them, occupied in the mission fields of European provinces. Thus the foreign mission field of the Church has now absorbed 123 American friars, 107 of them priests and 16 of them lay-brothers.

Amidst all these exterior activities, the friars have never lost sight of the development in the intellectual life, mindful of the prestige enjoyed by the Order at the early universities. Great heights could not yet be scaled in the hubbub of expansion and the excitement of external works. Yet from the very beginning all the friars put special emphasis on the thorough training of their own candidates. Even

**Foreign
Missions**

**Seraphic
Schools**

if Europeans were most pessimistic of the hope that the friars could ever find a sufficient recruiting ground for candidates in North America,—this pessimistic outlook is also expressed in frequent letters of individual friars to their homeland,—the first superiors started from the very beginning to found seraphic seminaries and clericates. Complaints are often found concerning the crudeness of those early institutions, yet they somehow met the demands of the times. Efforts to improve them were unremitting, so that in our own days they usually stand second to none. Proof of this is the ease with which most of those that applied for the approval of the state were accepted almost as they were. Proof, again, of the untiring efforts of the friars in this direction is the newer experimentation by some provinces in the threefold division of high school, college and theology departments. Excluding the minor seminaries or high school departments, the friars on this continent have now 41 houses of study or clericates in 18 of their provinces.

Where did the friars find their teachers? Even if it is true that some of the early professors in our schools were self-educated, we must not forget that many of the early friars brought with them from Europe outstanding university training. And that the ideal of thoroughly trained teachers has not been lost to sight, may be concluded from the fact that at present 58 friars are studying at foreign universities and 26 friars at American universities. The friars are trying to prepare the best of teachers.

It must also be remembered that the early training schools of the friars were not always reserved exclusively to friar students. At the bidding of bishops, very many of them also trained candidates for the diocesan clergy. Throughout the length and breadth of the continent will be found bishops and secular priests, who can testify to the efficiency of their training at our preparatory, and even major, seminaries. To appreciate the efficiency of Franciscan training in other fields, we need point, amongst others, only to Saint Bonaventure's College, Quincy College and High School, Roger Bacon High School, Saint Joseph's Military Academy. And all these efforts at learning seem to be centered in the pontifical institute of this country, the Catholic University of America, through the four colleges of the friars directly connected with that university in the District of Columbia. No wonder, then, that the

educational aspirations of the friars could find their expression in a special society, our own *Franciscan Educational Conference*.

Not much leisure for the quiet work of authors could be found during the brick and mortar age. Yet even that age produced a relatively large number of writers. Let mention be made only of the Friars Minor Bonaventure Hammer, Innocent **Friar** Wapelhorst and Zephyrin Engelhardt. At present our **Authors** annual bibliographical list points to an ever increasing number of friars, some of whom will without doubt be referred to as outstanding in their field of endeavor in the future. Indeed, the future of Franciscan literature on this continent seems very promising. Even our periodicals are slowly moving towards excellence. And that the learning of the friars is being appreciated outside our own families may be concluded from the fact that four friars have been called to teach in foreign universities and six in American universities.

All of this would, however, be of no value whatsoever if the Franciscan spirit had been lost, as was so often predicted by early correspondents and was accepted by some as an almost foregone conclusion. Have the past ninety years verified this **Friar** conclusion? Let us look at the records. First, in **Dignitaries** the Order itself. It now seems trite to hear of an American being chosen Definitor General of the Order. Even having an American chosen as Minister General no longer seems a novelty. Minister Generals, who had been connected with American provinces, were the Most Reverends Dominic Reuter, O.M.C., Aloysius Lauer, O.F.M., Denis Schuler, O.F.M., and now the Most Reverend Bede Hess, O.M.C. And there are persistent rumors that others were destined for this highest dignity of the Order, but that they somehow managed to escape the heavy burden. Surely, the Order considers us true sons of Saint Francis.

In like manner, the Church has given her stamp of approval. She would not make high appointments from our ranks if the Franciscan spirit were wanting. Therefore, we can point with pride to Cardinal Diomedé Falconio, Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Paschal Robinson, Archbishop Denis Schuler, Archbishop Albert T. Daeger. We can also mention the Vicars Apostolic, Bishop Fidelis Dehm, Bishop Athanasius Goette, Bishop Sylvester Espelage, Prefect Apostolic Egide-Marie Roy and Prefect Apostolic Ambrose Pinger.

Concerning the even higher honors of the altar, the Church has not yet pronounced her definite judgment in the case of the newer friars in the present provinces. Yet we look forward most confidently to this approval in the case of Father Leo Heinrichs, O.F.M. And we are told of friars in almost every province who died in the odor of sanctity.

CONCLUSION

We can thus view with satisfaction the state of the friars in North America. It is true that much more could have been accomplished. But in paging the leaves of our recent history on this continent, we must admit that it would have required almost superhuman strength. It is true that at times our efforts could have been directed to better channels. Again, we are human in our judgments. And then, the future lies open before us. The Franciscan Order has spread its three big branches of Friars Minor, Friars Conventual and Friars Capuchin over the entire extent of the North American Continent. From some few friars we have become a large threefold family of almost four thousand. We have grown with the Church, ever ready to extend a helping hand when needed. We can therefore look into the future with confidence, because we are strengthened with the Franciscan heritage of the Friars of Old.

SOURCES

Since the foregoing article is so very compendious, the writer considers it advisable to mention the sources in this place rather than to refer to them throughout the paper. His primary sources of information are the answers to the questionnaire he sent out early in the year. He received a hundred percent response and makes use of this opportunity to express his deep gratitude. The Most Reverend, Very Reverend and Reverend Fathers who responded are,

Friars Minor: José M. Casillas, Turibius Deaver, Alban Schwarze, Emil Brum, John B. Wuest, William Lavallée, Joseph Hermann, Marion Habig, Hermigild Dressler, Adalbert Callahan, Casimir Stec, Aloysius M. Costa, Leonard Walsh, Medard Medveczky, David Zruo;

Friars Conventual: Bede Hess, Vincent Mayer, Giles Kaczmarek, Aloysius Sobus, Paul Vollrath;

Friars Capuchin: Claude Vogel, Salesius Schneweis, Louis Biersack, Apollinaris Baumgartner, Pacifico Rossi, Jean Berchmans, Brendan O'Callaghan, Adrian Sharkey, Arnold Madden, Emmanuel Roets.

The other sources used by the writer are: *Archives of the Ludwig-Missionsverein*; *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*; Heribertus Holzapfel, O.F.M.,

Manuale Historiae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Freiburg, 1919); *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1936); Beda Kleinschmidt, O.F.M., *Ausland-deutschtum und Kirche* (Münster, 1930); *The Friars Minor in the United States* (Chicago, 1926); Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in California* (Harbor Springs, 1897); Adalbert Callahan, O.F.M., *Medieval Francis in Modern America* (New York, 1936); *Guide to the Franciscan Monastery* (Washington, 1934); Odoric-Marie Jouve, *Les Franciscains et Le Canada* (Quebec, 1915); *Vingt-cinq Années de Vie Franciscaine au Canada, 1890-1915* (Montreal, 1915); *Les Recollets au Canada* (Montreal, 1921); Marie-Raymond De Lille, O.F.M., *L'Ordre Séraphique* (Montreal); *Almanach de Saint François D'Assise* (Quebec, 1928); *Schematismus Almae Provinciae SS. Salvatoris in Slovakia* (Bratislava, 1931); *Dedication Souvenir* (Valparaiso, 1935); *Schematismus Almae Missionariae Provinciae in Hercegovina* (Sarajevi, 1933); *Album Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium in Statibus Foederatis Americae* (Syracuse, 1917); *Schematismus Fratrum Minorum Conventualium S. Francisci in Alma Provincia Immaculae Conceptionis B. M. V. Americae* (Syracuse, 1926); "The Diamond Jubilee," *The Minorite*, December, 1935; *Album Jubileuszowy, 1905-1930* (Buffalo, 1930); *Descriptio Geographica et Statistica Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* (Romae, 1929); *Catalogus Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum Provinciae Pennsylvaniae* (Pittsburgh, 1932); Celestine Bittle, O.M.Cap., *A Romance of Lady Poverty* (Milwaukee, 1933); Eugène de Saint-Chamond, O.M.Cap., *Les Frères-Mineurs Capucins* (Ottawa, 1923); *Seraphic Visitor*, December 30, 1935; "The Capuchins in English-Speaking Lands," *Seraphic Child of Mary*, 1905-1906; P. Alexis, O.M.Cap., "Les Capucins au Canada," *L'Echo de St. François*, 1931-1934.

DISCUSSION

FR. CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.M.Cap.:—From an enormous amount of material, Fr. Theodore has chosen the salient features and given us a rapid survey of four centuries of American Franciscanism in regard to the foundation and present status of the various Provinces. The mere recital of dates and numbers is cold but when we reflect on the true meaning of all this vast history of our Order in America, we are thrilled at the sheer magnificence of Franciscan chivalry and our hearts glow with desire to conquer new worlds even as did the Franciscans of old. There is something absolutely amazing and truly inspiring in the history of American Franciscanism. All of us have felt it long ago, but I'm sure that in these days of the Conference we all rejoice the more in being Franciscans. Everyone of us has seen new horizons open out before his soul's eyes. We admire the triumphs of the friars who have gone before us with the sign of faith; we venerate the places where they labored and died for Christ and souls; we marvel at the progress of the Order and its flourishing condition in the country today.

* Here at Santa Barbara we pay a well-earned tribute to the friars of old and at the same time we extend the right hand of fellowship and fraternal congratulation to all our confrères working in America today. "Vidi turbam magnam," St. John tells us in the Apocalypse. We may say the same after hearing Fr. Theodore's paper. This "turba" is the American family of St. Francis. From coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande, the children of Francis greet him "O Pater multitudinis gentium." We ask him in the words of Isaiah: "Lift up thy eyes round about and see; all these

are gathered together, they are come to thee: thy sons shall come from afar and thy daughters shall arise up at thy side" (Is. 60, 4).

It is the office of the historian not merely to give facts and dates but also to investigate the motives and causes for historical truths. So we ask ourselves why the history of the Franciscans charms us. We want to know what urged them to achieve such glorious results and why they still continue to prosper and flourish like the palm-tree. The Franciscans are not eccentric creatures in the Church of Christ. They are the normal fruit of the spiritual life in the Catholic Church. But to understand the spirit of the Order, to answer all the questions that arise in our minds in these days of the

The Secret of the Charm

Conference apropos the motives of the Friars and the causes of their success, we must look deep into the history activities and laws of the Order and read there on every page Christ and Him crucified. St. Francis prescribes this for the friars in the very beginning of his rule; "This is the rule of the Friars Minor to observe the Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Every religious Order performs a distinct function in the Mystical Body of Christ. One insists on this work of Christ and another on that. But putting all the religious Orders together we have the whole Christ, the ideal and complete Christ. I dare say that just as the Church is the extension of the Incarnation so in a certain sense religious Orders, too, are a magnificent and beautiful continuation of the Incarnation. They are this in a perfect miniature within the Church herself.

The Franciscans represent Jesus Christ in His Sacred Ministry, in His Poverty, Humility and Simplicity. Their motive force is burning personal love for Christ crucified. Their ideals are those of St. Francis, nay those of the Apostles themselves—to give Christ to the people, after they themselves have "put on Christ." The true Franciscan mirrors forth Christ. "I live, now not I but Christ liveth in me" is the Friar's ideal and the secret of his success as well as the motive power for his gigantic labor for Christ. The Franciscan Order therefore is a glory to the Incarnate God. The Franciscan Order is a monument not built of stones but of souls on fire with love for their crucified God; and of bodies racked with unrelenting labor for the extension of His Kingdom.

Franciscan Ideals are those of Christ. Franciscan life is an extension of Christ's public life. Its manner and motive are beautifully expressed in the following incident in Christ's life. "And Jesus came to Nazareth where he

Franciscan Ideals

was brought up: and he went into the synagogue, according to his custom, on the sabbath day: and he rose up to read. And the book of Isaias the Prophet was delivered unto Him. And as he unfolded the book, he found the place where it was written: The spirit of the Lord is upon me. Wherefore he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives and sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of reward. And when he had folded the book, he restored it to the minister and sat down. And the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed upon him. And he began to say to them: This day is fulfilled this scripture in your ears. And all gave testimony to him" (Luke 4, 16-22; Is. 61, 1, 2). This is the image of Franciscan activity throughout the centuries. The Franciscans are the "Sons of the People." Such is the work and mission Christ and Francis have left them. Even as we sing of our Holy Father St. Francis that he was "Totus Catholicus et Totus Apostolicus," so, too, every true friar is entirely Catholic and entirely Apostolic.

The well-spring of Franciscan life is deep personal love for Christ. Francis was so charmed by Christ that it caused the saint to embrace the cross and to become a master of the "Folly of the Cross." So too, the Friar Minor learns first to appreciate Christ, then to love Him and thus to work for Him. Activity (the Apostolate) is the overflow of contemplation. Once the friar (or anyone else) loves Christ he will work for Him and this is contagious. This is the secret of Franciscan triumphs. Men of the Order fear nothing. They go forth courageous and brave in the Name of the Lord. Pope Pius XI on July 3, 1928, said of the Capuchins on the Four Hundredth Anniversary of their Founding, that the Capuchins have no fear. They are found in even the most abandoned regions working for the Lord. What is true of the Capuchins is true of all the Franciscan Family.

Personal Love of Christ

As of old, so in more recent times our Fathers and Brothers have labored and born the burden and heat of the day. They were and are popular. They are direct and simple and the people love them.

A mere recital of our foundations here shows us that our men have grasped the Franciscan ideal and have adapted themselves to this country. This is the peculiar charm of the Franciscan life. What St. Francis says about clothes, may also be said of the Franciscan, namely he adapts himself to "places, seasons and cold climates," to rich and poor, to humble and proud, to ignorant and learned. The Franciscan Order has made itself at home in every country and in every clime. All history shows this. And so it ought to be for Franciscanism is nothing else than the observance of the Holy Gospel, living in obedience without property and in chastity.

The progress and achievements of our Order in America have a moral value that is simply tremendous in its importance. Every friar, every house and every province is a document testifying to the vigor, truth and glory of the Catholic Church. Christ promised Francis that the Order would last till the end of time. And so it will, because it is thoroughly Catholic and we know that the Catholic Church is destined for all time and for all nations. We see that there is vigorous and healthy Franciscanism in our

Well-Adapted to America

provinces. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The spirituality and work of the provinces is guided by competent superiors and it agrees with the best traditions of the Church and of the Order. Prayer and work, contemplation and action are the foundation, the walls and the roof of our life. Thus we can hope for a normal development of the Franciscan life in America.

Our time in Santa Barbara is well spent. We have put the spot-light of research and attention on a beautiful and important page of the Order's history, but still more have we enthused ourselves to new sacrifices for the sake of Christ; we have encouraged all our thousands of brethren in St. Francis to learn Christ, to sanctify themselves by loving Him and working for His Glory; and we have seen that we stand in America a vast and mighty phalanx fighting and working shoulder to shoulder for Christ, encouraging all that is noble, lovely, holy and just, dying to self and living to God in Christ. May our beloved provinces flourish and may all their sons be unto St. Francis as the "branches of a palm unto his glory."

Several histories of various provinces have already appeared. But this work is as yet in its infancy. Each province ought to take special care to provide for this important work. Now the pioneer work is done and a man should be found in every province to write its history.

As an indispensable source the historian will need the chronicle of the various houses. It seems that in this regard few friaries are fortunate. The work of writing up the chronicle is often imposed on one already overburdened. It must be done over and above all other work and thus often times is it done hurriedly and perhaps not too accurately. The Conference here appreciates the work of the house chronicler and wishes to give him every encouragement in his arduous and important task. It would be a good thing to follow the excellent example of several German provinces which print the chief events of each house, every month.

Another point worthy of mention in regard to our American friars is that they foster the genuine Franciscan devotions in their own Friaries and amongst the people. Such devotions respect the Humanity of Christ and Our Blessed Lady, e. g., devotion to the Sacred Heart, to the Holy Name, to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Five Wounds and to the Infancy and Passion of Christ. Devotion to Mary Immaculate is very, very dear to the American Friars and in this, too, they are true Franciscans.

THE FRANCISCAN MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA

FR. MARION HABIG, O.F.M., A.M.

Seventeen years ago (1919), when the Franciscan Order rounded out seven hundred years of missionary activity, one of our European confrères, Fr. Erhard Schlund, O.F.M., wrote:

A Significant Statement "Should anyone attempt to present a detailed account of Franciscan missions, a voluminous history of martyrs would be the result, even if such were not the avowed purpose." The truth of these

words became manifest in a measure, when at the Vatican Missionary Exposition in 1925 the Franciscans exhibited a richly illuminated manuscript listing the names of more than a thousand uncanonized friars who crowned their apostolate among heathen peoples with the supreme sacrifice of their life-blood, twenty-eight of them during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Fr. Schlund's statement was further corroborated by Fr. Leonard Lemmens' German outline history of Franciscan missions which appeared in 1929.

Very appositely Henrion in his *Histoire Generale de Missions Catholiques*, employs the phrase "lavish with its blood," to characterize the Franciscan Order as a missionary force in the Church. It is truly remarkable how in the Old World as well as in the New, and in our own day as in the past, the sons of St. Francis have always distinguished themselves by the fearlessness and eagerness with which they braved the danger of death to carry the Gospel tidings to those groping in darkness. Among all the countries of the world which have been watered by the blood of Franciscan martyrs, Palestine, the homeland of the Saviour, seems to hold the first place with as many as 158 martyrs, not including those who suffered shipwreck or died as victims of a pestilence.¹ It

¹ Cf. the writer's articles: "The Franciscan Order," *The Friars Minor in the United States, with a Brief History of the Orders of St. Francis in General* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), pp. 1-25; "Franciscan Missions of the Past," *Franciscan Herald*, XXII (1934), 220-221; "Franciscan Missions in the Near East," *ibid.*, XXIII (1935), 270, 271, 295.

appears that South America is next in order, and then our own North America with no less than 115 martyrs.

The story of the Franciscan martyrs of North America is one of the brightest chapters in the history of the continent—a story of dauntless courage and inspiring heroism, of genuine greatness and wholehearted devotion to the noblest of causes.

A Story of Heroism As a composite picture it is really overwhelming in its extent and magnitude; it conveys some idea too of the still greater extent and magnitude of Franciscan missions in North America. Other religious Orders have likewise labored valiantly in various sections of the same area; but if we consider the pioneers in the field, the extent and duration of the missions, and the number of their personnel, the Franciscans undoubtedly hold the foremost position in the missionary annals of North America.²

² Lest this statement be ignored as not founded on facts, it will be well to add here some comparative statistics for all Spanish America. J. F. Rippey, *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1933), p. 101, writes: "At the time of their expulsion the Jesuits alone are said to have had 717,000 neophytes in their establishments. All the other orders combined probably did not have so many; but there must have been at least a million Indians in the missions of Spanish America in 1767." On the preceding page, note 3, he tells us that the above figure is taken from Brabo, *Expulsión de los Jesuitas*, and adds other more definite statistics from the same source; namely, the total number of Jesuits in America at the time of their expulsion was 2,260, and the number of their colleges, residences, and missions, 191. Fortunately, figures are available regarding the Franciscans from the year 1786; and they show that the Franciscans actually had more than twice as many men and three times as many "colleges, residences, and missions" as the Jesuits. The Most Reverend Manuel M. Truxillo, "actual Comisario general de Indias de la regular Observancia de N. P. S. Francisco," in 1786 published at Madrid a work entitled *Exhortación pastoral*, containing the following statistics of the Franciscans in Spanish America: total number of friars, 4,838; total number of colleges, friaries, and missions, 668. The total number of missions alone was 438, of which 211 were in charge of 17 different Franciscan provinces and 227 in the care of 17 Apostolic Colleges. The figure for the friaries includes only the *conventos*, not the *vicarias*, and that for the missions does not include the *doctrinas*. Vide Otto Maas, O.F.M., *Viajes de misioneros Franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo México. Documentos del Archivo general de Indias (Sevilla)* (Sevilla: Imprenta de San Antonio, 1915), pp. 184-186. Professor Rippey, however, is not the only one who has made a statement such as the one quoted above; others make even more sweeping statements when they discuss the Jesuits in Spanish America. Cf. for instance, A. C. Wilgus, *A History of Hispanic America* (Washington: Mime-o-form Service, 1931), p. 183, and W. W. Sweet, *A History of Latin America* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1929), pp. 138-139. All this shows how little known is the missionary history of the Franciscans in Spanish America as compared with that of the Jesuits, even by eminent historians of

As yet, however, the story of the Franciscan martyrs as well as their missions of North America is but imperfectly known. Several attempts have been made to draw up an American martyrology;³ but thus far a definite and satisfactory roster has not appeared, at least not of the Franciscan martyrs.

In the present paper it will be my endeavor to determine exactly the place, time, and manner of the death of each one of the Franciscan martyrs of North America. It will be little more than a sketch, since circumstances do not permit a fuller treatment of the subject at the present time; but the writer expects to develop this sketch into a much larger work in the near future.

Included in our list of martyrs are those only who have certainly suffered a violent death at the hands of their fellowmen—Indians, in all cases except six—while engaged in the work of propagating the Faith or exercising the sacred ministry. Thus many who are included in other martyrologies are excluded from our list; namely, those who have died in consequence of natural causes, for example, shipwreck, hunger, hardships; also those who were merely wounded or made captives for some time; and those of whom we have no definite or reliable information. All these will be mentioned only in passing.

Hispanic America. The fact that a Franciscan calls attention to a current impression regarding his order that is altogether false and unfounded should not make any difference to those who are in search of the true facts of history.

³ The following attempts at an American martyrology, all of them lacking, some more some less, in completeness and accuracy, have been made: the "Martyrologium Americanum" which appeared in the *American Catholic Almanac* of 1859 was printed in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XXIII (1906), 332, with a request for emendations. This list mentions 52 martyrs, 31 of them Franciscans. A revised and augmented "Martyrologium Americanum" appeared *ibid.*, XXIV (1907), 75-76, with 90 martyrs, 68 of them Franciscans. An "American Martyrology" is contained also in the *Franciscan Almanac*; *vide* the 1936 edition, pp. 196-198. So far as the Franciscans are concerned the latter will be corrected according to the list accompanying the present paper. The names of 59 Franciscan martyrs in the United States are given by B. Hammer, O.F.M., *Die Franciscaner in den Vereinigten Staaten Nord-americas* (Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1892), pp. 142-143. Mooney compiled a list of martyrs for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1905-1914), X, 390. F. G. Holweck's "An American Martyrology," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1921), 495-516, is after the manner of the Roman Martyrology, being in calendar form and giving brief sketches of the individual martyrs and also of prominent and saintly missionaries who died a natural death. In J. J. Thompson's "An American Martyrology," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1921), 57-73, the martyrology appears on pp. 64-66, the rest being mostly historical notes on Jesuit missionaries.

When we speak of martyrs, therefore, we are not using the term in the strictly canonical sense. Whether or not the missionary heroes enumerated are martyrs in this sense, is a matter for the Church to decide. It is the historian's task merely to gather the facts needed for such a decision. In doing so, however, it is well for him to bear in mind what the Church understands by martyrdom. Briefly, martyrdom in the canonical sense signifies death suffered in testimony of the true Faith (or inflicted because of hatred of the Faith), and, in the case of adults, suffered patiently (accepted without resistance)—*mors, in odium fidei illata, et patienter tolerata*. With these three conditions of martyrdom in mind, the writer has for the present study limited the term martyr as explained above.

The proper name "North America" is used very loosely at times. Correctly used, it includes the entire continent, Alaska, Canada, the United States, Mexico, and the countries south of Mexico as far as and including Panama. The latter are included in the general term "Central America"; but Central America is not distinct from North America, it is merely its southernmost part. Webster's Dictionary defines Central America as "the southern part of North America, between Mexico and South America." For this reason, our honor roll of Franciscan martyrs of North America will include the martyrs of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central America. Special attention, however, will be given to those of the United States.

The list which follows is arranged in chronological order; at the end of this study we shall give another in which the arrangement is based on territorial divisions.

A. THE UNITED STATES

1. Fr. Juan de Padilla.....	Texas	1542
2. Bro. Luis de Ubeda.....	New Mexico	1544
3. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria.....	New Mexico	1581
4. Fr. Francisco Lopez.....	New Mexico	1582
5. Bro. Agustin Rodriguez.....	New Mexico	1582
6. Fr. Pedro de Corpa.....	Georgia	1597
7. Fr. Miguel de Añón.....	Georgia	1597
8. Bro. Antonio de Badajoz.....	Georgia	1597
9. Fr. Blas de Rodríguez.....	Georgia	1597
10. Fr. Francisco Verascula.....	Georgia	1597

11. Fr. Pedro de Miranda.....	New Mexico	1631
12. Fr. Francisco Letrado.....	New Mexico	1632
13. Fr. Martin de Arvide.....	Arizona	1632
14. Fr. Francisco Porras.....	Arizona	1633
15. 16. 17. Three unnamed Franciscans.....	Florida	1647
18. Fr. Pedro de Ávila y Ayala.....	New Mexico	1672
19. Fr. Alonso Gil de Ávila.....	New Mexico	1675
20. Fr. Juan Bernal.....	New Mexico	1680
21. Fr. Domingo de Vera.....	New Mexico	1680
22. Fr. Fernando de Velasco.....	New Mexico	1680
23. Fr. Juan Bautista Pio.....	New Mexico	1680
24. Fr. Tomás de Torres.....	New Mexico	1680
25. Fr. Luis de Morales.....	New Mexico	1680
26. Bro. Antonio Sánchez de Pro.....	New Mexico	1680
27. Fr. Matías Rendón.....	New Mexico	1680
28. Fr. Antonio de Mora.....	New Mexico	1680
29. Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa.....	New Mexico	1680
30. Fr. Manuel Tinoco.....	New Mexico	1680
31. Fr. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana.....	New Mexico	1680
32. Fr. Juan de Talabán.....	New Mexico	1680
33. Fr. Jose de Montesdoca.....	New Mexico	1680
34. Fr. Juan de Jesús.....	New Mexico	1680
35. Fr. Lucas Maldonado.....	New Mexico	1680
36. Fr. Juan del Val.....	New Mexico	1680
37. Fr. José de Trujillo.....	Arizona	1680
38. Fr. José de Espeleta.....	Arizona	1680
39. Fr. Agustín de Santa Maria.....	Arizona	1680
40. Fr. José de Figueroa.....	Arizona	1680
41. Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde.....	Illinois	1680
42. Fr. Manuel Beltran.....	New Mexico (?)	1684
43. Fr. Zénobe Membre.....	Texas	1689
44. Fr. Maxim Le Clercq.....	Texas	1689
45. Fr. Francisco de Jesus Maria Casañas.....	New Mexico	1696
46. Fr. José de Arbizu.....	New Mexico	1696
47. Fr. Antonio Carbonel.....	New Mexico	1696
48. Fr. Francisco Corvera.....	New Mexico	1696
49. Fr. Antonio Moreno.....	New Mexico	1696
50. Fr. Luis Sanchez.....	Florida	1697
51. Fr. Juan de Parga.....	Florida	1704
52. Bro. Marcos Delgado.....	Florida	1704
53. Fr. Angel Miranda.....	Florida	1704
54. Fr. Manuel de Mendoza.....	Florida	1704
55. Fr. Nicholas Bernardine Constantine Delhalle.....	Michigan	1706
56. Fr. Juan Minguez.....	Nebraska	1720
57. Bro. José Pita.....	Texas	1721
58. Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva.....	Texas	1750
59. Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal.....	Texas	1752
60. Fr. Alonso Giraldo de Terreros.....	Texas	1758
61. Fr. José Santiesteban.....	Texas	1758

62. Fr. Luis Jayme.....	California	1775
63. Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés.....	California	1781
64. Fr. Juan Antonio Barreneche.....	California	1781
65. Fr. Juan Marcello Diaz.....	California	1781
66. Fr. José Matias Moreno.....	California	1781
67. Fr. Andrés Quintana.....	California	1812
68. Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon.....	Texas	1834
69. Fr. Leo Heinrichs	Colorado	1908

Doubtful:

1. Fr. Juan de la Cruz.....	New Mexico	1544
2. Fr. Pedro de Ortega.....	New Mexico	1631
3. Fr. Domingo de Saraóz.....	New Mexico	1631
4. Fr. Andrés Gutierrez.....	Arizona	1633
5. Bro. Cristóbal de la Concepcion.....	Arizona	1633
6. 7. 8. Three unnamed Franciscans.....	Georgia	1702
9. Fr. Leonard Vatier	Wisconsin	1713
10. Fr. Francisco Pujol	California	1801

Perished on journeys:

1. Bishop-elect Juan Suarez.....	Texas	1529
2. Bro. Juan de Palos.....	Texas	1529
3. Fr. Juan Torres.....	Lower Mississippi Valley	1542 ca.
4-11 (?). Missionaries of Apalache Indians in Florida, drowned on way to Havana.....	Cuba	1657
12. Bro. Luis de Montesdoca perished in prairie fire..	Texas	1718

Wounded:

1. Fr. Francisco de Ávila and captive for 1½ years..	Georgia	1597
2. Fr. Miguel Molina.....	Texas	1758

B. CANADA

1. Fr. Nicholas Viel.....	Sault au Récollet	1623
2. Fr. Leonard of Chartres (Capuchin).....	Port Royal (Annapolis, N. S.)	1654 or 1655
(Fr. Guillaume Poullain, tortured by Iroquois..		1619)
(Fr. Bernardin Sebastien, perished in Acadia woods		1623)

C. MEXICO

1. Bro. Juan Calero.....	Jalisco	1541
2. Fr. Antonio de Cuellar.....	Jalisco	1541
3. Fr. Francisco Lorenzo.....	Jalisco	1560
4. Bro. Juan, companion of Fr. Lorenzo.....	Jalisco	1560
5. Fr. Bernardo Cossin.....	Durango	1564
6. An unnamed Franciscan, old man.....	Durango	1564
7. An unnamed Franciscan, young man.....	Durango	1564
8. Fr. Juan de Tapia.....	Durango	post 1564
9. Bro. Lucas, companion of Fr. Tapia.....	Durango	post 1564
10. Fr. Francisco Donzel.....	Jalisco	1567

11. Fr. Pedro de Burgos.....	Jalisco	1567
12. Fr. Pablo de Acevedo.....	Sinaloa	1567
13. Bro. Juan de Herrera.....	Sinaloa	1567
14. 15. Two unnamed Franciscans.....	Sinaloa	1567
16. An unnamed Franciscan.....	Coahuila	1568
17. Fr. Juan Serrato.....	Zacatecas	1580
18. Fr. Luis de Villalobos.....	Zacatecas	1582
19. Fr. Andrés de Ayala.....	Jalisco	1585
20. Fr. Francisco Gil.....	Jalisco	1585
21. Fr. Andrés de la Puebla.....	Durango	1586
22. Fr. Juan del Rio.....	San Luis Potosi	1586
23. Fr. Martín de Altamirano.....	Nuevo Leon	1606
24. Fr. Pedro Gutiérrez.....	Durango	1616
25. Fr. Diego Delgado.....	Yucatan	1624
26. Bro. Juan Henriquez.....	Yucatan	1624
27. Fr. Tomás Zigarrán.....	Chihuahua	1645
28. Fr. Francisco Labado.....	Chihuahua	1645
29. Fr. Esteban Benítez.....	Durango	1686
30. Fr. Ramiro Alvarez.....	Durango	1704
31. Fr. Diego Hevia.....	Durango	1704
32. Fr. Juan Chrysostomo Gil de Bernave.....	Sonora	1773
33. Fr. Felipe Guillen.....	Sonora	1778
34. Fr. Junipero de la Vega.....	Michoacan	1928
35. Bro. Humilde Martinez.....	Michoacan	1928
36. Fr. José Perez.....	Guanajuato	1928

D. CENTRAL AMERICA

1. Fr. Estevan Bertelete.....	Honduras	1612
2. Fr. Juan de Monteagudo.....	Honduras	1612
3. Fr. Cristóbal Martínez Puerta.....	Honduras	1623
4. Fr. Benito López.....	Honduras	1623
5. Bro. Juan de Baena.....	Honduras	1623
6. Fr. Rodrigo Perez.....	Costa Rica	1627
7. Fr. Pablo de Rebullida.....	Costa Rica	1709
8. Fr. Juan Antonio de Zamora.....	Costa Rica	1709

<i>Summary:</i>	United States.....	69
	Canada.....	2
	Mexico.....	36
	Central America.....	8
	North America.....	115

PROTOMARTYRS OF THE NEW WORLD

Before we discuss the martyrs whose names appear on the above roster, it will be of interest to prefix some remarks on the protomartyrs of the New World. From an account of Fra Roman Pane, one of the missionaries who accompanied Columbus on his

second voyage (1493) we learn that the first martyrs in the New World were three native neophytes, apparently on the island of Haiti, or Española as it was then called, who were killed by their pagan countrymen and died declaring: "I am a servant of God!"⁴

On the island of Española the first Franciscan province in the New World, that of Santa Cruz, was established in 1505; and from the friaries on this island, missionaries ventured into the Caribbean and visited many of the other islands. On one of these missionary expeditions in 1516, three lost their lives at the hands of cannibal Caribs, Fathers Hernando de Salcedo, Diego Botello, and an unnamed friar.⁵

These martyrs are sometimes mentioned as the first European martyrs in the New World; I myself have made this mistake. But already a decade before, there had been two Franciscan martyrs on the coast of Brazil; and to these goes the distinction of having been the first missionaries from the Old World who became martyrs in the New.

After Cabral had landed on the coast of Brazil in 1500 at Easter time, he sent one of his ships with Caspar de Lemos back home to Lisbon with the news of the discovery. (There are good reasons for thinking that this was not an accidental discovery as has been generally believed.)⁶ King Emmanuel of Portugal then sent to Brazil a ship with Amerigo Vespucci; and on board were also two Franciscans of the Province of San Antonio, whose names unfortunately have not been recorded. A colony was established at Porto Seguro, and there the friars built a little church in honor of St. Francis and for two years made it the center of their labors among the Portuguese as well as the natives.

⁴ An account of this martyrdom is given in *Scrittura di fra Roman*, printed in Chap. 61 of *Vita de Cristoforo Colombo, descritta da Ferdinando, suo figlio*, regarding which *vide* R. Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, II (Aachen, 1924), no. 22. Cf. also Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen (Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte*, 12) (Muenster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929), p. 196; and the writer's article, "The First Missionaries in the New World," *Franciscan Herald*, XXII (1934), 125.

⁵ Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, written in 1596, and published for the first time by J. Icazbalceta (Mexico: Antigua Librería, 1870), p. 41; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁶ C. E. Nowell, "The Discovery of Brazil—Accidental or Intentional?" *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (1936), 311-338.

Incited by their medicine men, the latter then rose in a conspiracy and attacked the mission, killing the Franciscans and the colonists who sought to protect them. It was on June 19, 1505, that the two missionaries were murdered in their little church. A few of the Portuguese escaped, but were afterwards attracted, when they saw two Indians, dressed in the habits of the friars, walking along the seashore. Mistaking them for the Franciscans, they approached unsuspectingly and were likewise killed. Two unnamed Franciscans are, therefore, the protomartyrs of the New World, as well as of Brazil and the mainland.⁷

THE UNITED STATES

Remarkable is the fact that not only the protomartyrs of the New World and of South America, but also the first martyrs of Mexico, the United States, and Canada, were all spiritual sons of St. Francis. In North America it was particularly within the confines of what is now the United States that the blood of martyrs flowed freely. With as many as 69 Franciscan martyrs in 10 different States, there were more here than in all the rest of North America. It was especially the Southern States from Georgia to California that were the scene of these martyrdoms; but they were not the only ones. We shall discuss these martyrs according to States, beginning with California, then going east and taking the other States one by one, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, Georgia, then north and westward, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Colorado, thus concluding the survey with our only modern martyr.

CALIFORNIA

The first of the six Franciscans who were martyred on California soil was Fr. Luis Jayme. He was murdered by pagan Indians at Mission San Diego, situated about six miles from the mouth of the river of the same name, during the Luis Jayme night preceding the 4th of November, 1775. A cross near the present restored Mission San Diego marks

⁷ P. Emanuel, "Origenes etc.," *Archivo Ibero Americano*, I (1914), 500-514; Salesius Elsner, O.F.M., *Die deutschen Franziskaner in Brasilien (Aus Allen Zonen, VIII)* (Treves: Paulinus Druckerei, 1912), Introductory chapter; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

the site of his martyrdom. Fr. Engelhardt believes the fact that the Fathers had been fairly successful in winning the local Indians—so-called Diegueños, belonging to Yuman stock—from paganism may have provoked the sorcerers and other chief men. During the night mentioned about one thousand armed pagans surrounded the mission, looted the sacristy and storehouse, and set fire to the buildings. In the attack Fr. Luis was killed and also the blacksmith, José Romero, while the carpenter, Urselino, was mortally wounded. When Fr. Junipero Serra, who was at San Carlos Mission, heard of the disaster, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God! that land is now watered; now the conversion of the Diegueños will be accomplished." Another instance showing how strikingly similar the Apostle of California was to St. Francis himself! Though all believed it unnecessary to pray for their martyred confrère, every missionary in California, according to a previous agreement, offered up twenty holy Masses for him. To the viceroy in Mexico Fr. Serra wrote afterwards that far from being disheartened the missionaries rather envied their martyred companion, Fr. Luis.⁸

The next four martyrs were all killed in an uprising of the Yumas on the Colorado River in the southeastern corner of the State: Fathers Juan M. Diaz and José M. Moreno at Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, situated about
Four Victims three miles north of Fort Yuma, on July 17,
of the Yumas 1781; and Fathers Francisco H. Garcés and Juan A. Barreneche, two days later near Mission Purissima Concepcion, which occupied the site of old Fort Yuma. Hitherto it was generally held that the former of these missions was situated some eight or ten miles below the latter, and Mooney even thought that possibly it lay just across the present Mexican border.⁹ But Fr. Felix Pudlowski, O.F.M., of St. Thomas Mission at Ft. Yuma, Calif., has definitely demonstrated that the mission in question was three miles north, and not south, of the other.

⁸ Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, II (San Francisco: James H. Barry Co., 1912), 169-170; F. G. Holweck, "An American Martyrology," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1921), 514; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 252.

⁹ F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30), I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 896.

The insurgent Indians attacked both missions on the same day, and at San Pedro y San Pablo completed their destructive work on the first day, the Fathers there being among the first victims. Fr. Moreno's head was cut off with an ax. At Purisima Concepcion Fr. Barreneche had celebrated holy Mass and Fr. Garcés had just finished reading the epistle, when the wild yells of the Indians were heard on all sides. While the corporal was being beaten to death, the youthful Fr. Barreneche fearlessly threw himself into the melée and gave the dying man absolution, and then escaped into the church. Leaving the church unmolested for the present, the Indians crossed the river to the camp of Captain Rivera and his seven companions. After a gallant defense which lasted till noon of the 18th, all were massacred. Brave young Fr. Barreneche had slipped out from the church in the afternoon of the 17th to administer the last sacraments to some dying Spaniards; and in the afternoon of the 18th all who had sought refuge in the church decided to make good their escape as well as they could, each one shifting for himself. Fr. Barreneche again helped a dying soldier, swimming across a deep lagoon to reach him. Fr. Garcés afterwards followed him; and the two missionaries found refuge in the hut of an Indian couple. The next day, however, searching Indians found the Fathers and beat them to death with clubs and sticks.

Five months later the bodies of Fathers Diaz and Moreno were found still intact on the spot where they had been slain; those of Fathers Garcés and Barreneche were found likewise incorrupt beneath a little oasis covered with grass and flowers. The remains of the missionaries were taken to Tubutama in Sonora below the Arizona border and buried on the epistle side of the altar.¹⁰ In 1794 they were transferred to the Apostolic College of Querétaro and buried in the church there. On the latter occasion Fr. Diego

¹⁰ Juan Domingo Arricivita, O.F.M., *Crónica Seráfica y Apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España. Segunda Parte* (the first part being the *Crónica* of Fr. Espinosa) (Mexico: Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1792), Chapters IX, X, XI of Book IV. Cf. also Z. Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in Arizona* (Harbor Springs, Mich.: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1899), 141 *et seq.*, also Chapters XIV, XV (a detailed account based on Arricivita); Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, II, 353, with picture of the site of Mission Concepcion facing p. 352; A. G. Saravia, *Los Misioneros Muertos en el Norte de Nueva España* (Durango: Silvestre Dorador, 1920), pp. 89-111; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 505; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

M. Bringas de Manzaneda preached a sermon which was published in Madrid in 1819.¹¹

Today on a bluff at Fort Yuma, California, and facing the city of Yuma, Arizona, stands a remarkable monument to Father Garcés, described by Richman as a marble friar grasping a tall cross and looking down on kneeling Indians who seemingly ask his blessing, while a small and exceedingly cheerful angel holds up the martyr's palm. According to the same writer Fr. Garcés

**Monument to
Fr. Garcés**

should be ranked with Fr. Kino both as an adventurous explorer and good chronicler; and McClintock says he deserves above all others to be styled the Apostle of Arizona. Lummis computes the number of desert miles that Fr. Garcés traversed in his five *entradas*¹² to have been more than five thousand, and finds that nothing in the pithy journal is more impressive than its silence about the inevitable sufferings of the pioneer traveler. He remarks also: "Friar Garcés was a typical Franciscan of his day—for thirteen years a frontier apostle among the Indian tribes of the Southwest, a tireless and fearless explorer, and a chronicler of great importance to the historian. In the years when our colonies were approaching separation from England, Garcés was pioneering the trackless desert of Arizona and California."¹³

In passing we may mention a missionary of whose martyrdom we are not certain: Fr. Francisco Pujol. He had come to Mission San Miguel from that of San Antonio only a few weeks previously, when he died in February, 1801, after enduring acute pains. It is probable that he was poisoned.¹⁴

The last of the six California martyrs was Fr. Andrés Quintana. On October 12, 1812, he was found dead in bed at Mission Santa Cruz on the north side of Monterey Bay. At the time, after a

¹¹ For full title see number 142 in J. B. Iguiniz, *Bibliografía Biográfica Mexicana, Tomo I, Repertorios Biográficos (Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, Numero 18)*, Mexico, 1930.

¹² Fr. Garcés' journal of his fifth *entrada*, really a combination of several, has been translated by Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), the introduction of which, though expressing admiration of the missionary, is written in a strangely un-Christian tone.

¹³ C. F. Lummis, *Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo* (New York: The Century Co., 1925), p. 53.

¹⁴ Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 11.

superficial examination, his death was pronounced a natural one; but the truth came to light two years later, when it was learned that he had been the victim of Indian treachery. Several Indians had conspired to murder the missionary. They called him out on a pretended sick call, though he was himself ill; and while he was hurrying to the supposedly dying person, they waylaid and killed him by hanging him from a tree at what is now the corner of Mora and Quintana Streets in Santa Cruz, "just where the track of the Felton Railway passes now, not many yards from the tunnel."¹⁵ Corroborating evidence was found when the body was exhumed and examined. The conspirators were found guilty and the case was referred to the viceroy, whose decision came only in 1816. Meanwhile two had died in prison; the rest were sentenced to two hundred lashes and compelled to work in chains from two to ten years. It is said that only one outlived the punishment. The charge that Fr. Quintana had treated the Indians cruelly is altogether unfounded. Governor Solá wrote to the viceroy on June 2, 1816: "I have set on foot the most secret and closest investigations. . . . I have learned that he was a very pious missionary."¹⁶

ARIZONA

During the Spanish period the country of the Moqui Indians¹⁷ in northern Arizona belonged to New Mexico, while the southern part belonged to Sonora or Pimeria Alta. The villages of the Moquis were no doubt identical with the seven towns of the province of Tusayan toward the west or northwest of Cibola (Zuñi), which Pedro de Tobar and Fr. Juan de Padilla, protomartyr of the United States, visited in the summer of 1540 by order of Coronado. Overcoming the opposition of the Indians, the visitors remained with them for several days, and learned from them about the Grand Cañon, which Cardenas was later on directed to visit.¹⁸

¹⁵ H. A. van Coenen Torchiana, *Story of the Mission Santa Cruz* (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Co., 1933), pp. 8, 246. The author gives expression to some distorted views on the missionaries of California. He is in error when he says Fr. Quintana was murdered in 1811.

¹⁶ Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 11-14; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 512.

¹⁷ Lummis, *op. cit.*, p. 495, shows how absurd it is to insist on the term "Hopi" for these Indians and explains how the latter crept into the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. The Moquis, he points out, call themselves, not Hopis, but Ho-pi-tuh Shi-nu-mu, that is People of Peace; but to this day more than fifty Indian tribes know of the Moquis, and not one of the Hopis.

¹⁸ Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 560.

The six martyrs of Arizona all lost their lives in the territory of the Moqui Indians. Hitherto it was thought that Fr. Francisco Porras was the protomartyr of Arizona; but I am indebted to Fr.

Martin de Arvide Bonaventure Oblasser, O.F.M., missionary and historian of Arizona, for pointing out to me that this title goes to Fr. Martin de Arvide. In 1632 this

Father was sent to the Zipias, who dwelt in Arizona west of the Zuñis. On the way he visited Fr. Francisco Letrado, the missionary at Hawikuh, one of the Zuñi pueblos, and departed from there on or before Sunday, February 22; for, on that day Fr. Letrado himself was killed by wayward members of his flock. It was these same Indians very probably who followed Fr. Martin de Arvide, and on February 27, as Vetancurt tells us, beat him with clubs until he was half dead; whereupon his own ungrateful servant, Lorenzo, in order to win the favor of the murderers, with a hoop sawed off the Father's right hand and head.¹⁹ Who were the Zipias? Most likely they were Moquis. If Fr. Arvide left Hawikuh on February 21 or 22, he had been traveling for six or five days, when he was overtaken and attacked by the murderers of Fr. Letrado; and the Moquis were a seven days' journey distant from the Zuñis. Furthermore, Bandelier tells us that the Zuñi name for the Moquis was Top-in-te-ua, which does sound something like Zi-pi-a.²⁰

When Fr. Martin de Arvide set out for the Zipias, some missionaries were already working among the Moquis; and one of their number at least won the martyr's crown the very next year, 1633. Fr. Francisco Porras and his two companions, **Francisco Porras** Fr. Andrés Gutierrez and Brother Cristóbal de la Concepcion arrived at the Moqui pueblo of Awatobi on August 20, 1629, and there founded the mission of San Bernardo. Other missions were later founded at Oraibi with

¹⁹ Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano* (Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia, Tomo X)—first published in 1698—(Mexico: I. Escalante y Ca., 1871), pp. 75-77; Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 181; B. M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, N. M., 1912), p. 258; E. R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1929), p. 28; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 498; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁰ A. F. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States—Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition* (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, V) (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890), p. 175.

Walpi as a *visita* and at Mishongnovi with Shongopovi as a *visita*.²¹

Fr. Porras, a saintly man, was very successful in his work; and, according to Vetancurt, he baptized more than a thousand Indians after working a miracle by which sight was given to the chief's boy who was blind from birth. This aroused the mortal enmity of some old medicine men, who cast some poison into the missionaries food. As soon as Father Porras had partaken of the dish, he realized that death would result. He hastened to his priestly confrère, Fr. Andrés, received the last sacraments with touching devotion, and expired after reciting the Psalm "In te Domine speravi," June 28, 1633. According to Engelhardt it is probable that the two companions of Fr. Porras were likewise poisoned; but since it is not certain, we have not included their names in our list of martyrs.²²

The other four martyrs of Arizona were all victims of the great Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Fr. José de Trujillo at Mission San Bartolomé de Shongopovi; Fr. José de Espeleta and Fr. Agustin de Santa Maria at Mission San Francisco de Oraibi; **Martyrs of 1680** and Fr. José de Figueroa (or de la Concepcion) at Mission San Bernardo de Awatobi. All except Fr. Espeleta, who had been working among the Pueblo Indians for thirty years and at one time had served as Custos,²³ came to these missions in 1674; and all were killed by the Moquis on August 10, 1680, unless as some writers say Fr. Espeleta was kept for a while as a slave.²⁴ Neither Fr. Ayeta nor Fr. Vetancurt, however, say anything of his supposed captivity. Several stories have, in fact, become current about the martyrs of 1680 for which there is no reliable documentary evidence. It seems these stories are largely traceable to the writings of W. W. H. Davis.²⁵ Certainly, when he tells us that Fr. Juan de Vallada and Fr. Juan

²¹ The names of these pueblos have various spellings; those given here are given by Mooney in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 561.

²² Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 211-212; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 23, and "Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1920-1921), 21-22 and 180; J. G. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days . . . 1621-1763* (New York, 1886), p. 642; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 505; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 235.

²³ Vetancurt, *Cronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México* (*Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia*, Tom. IX)—first published in 1698—(Mexico: I. Escalante y Ca., 1871), p. 322.

²⁴ Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 24.

²⁵ The works in question are *El Gringo* (New York, 1856) and *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, 1869).

(Jesus) de Lombarde (Lombardi) lost their lives at the hands of the Moquis in 1680, he is mistaken; there were no such Fathers in the Moqui missions at the time.²⁶ This error is repeated by Shea²⁷ and Salpointe,²⁸ though the latter himself says elsewhere²⁹ that these friars arrived in 1681. In that year, however, the missions were in ruins, and no new missionaries had as yet been able to return to them.

Of all the martyrs of 1680 Vetancurt singles out Fr. José Trujillo for a somewhat detailed biographical sketch. This Father, who edified all by his holy and austere life, had made a voyage to the Philippines before he went to New Mexico. Desirous of winning the martyr's crown, he had been assured by the Venerable Mother Juana de San Antonio, Abbess of the Poor Clares in Manila, that it would be in New Mexico that his desire was to be fulfilled. And when he arrived among the Moquis in 1674, he wrote to a confrère back in Mexico that the Blessed Virgin, having healed a girl who had been crippled for twelve years, told her to warn all that within a few years the land would be destroyed because of the little reverence it had for its priests.³⁰

NEW MEXICO

In New Mexico more Franciscan missionaries won the martyr's crown than in any other State. There were no less than thirty-one: one in each of the years, 1544(?), 1581, 1631, 1632, 1672, 1675, and 1689; two in 1582; five in 1696; and seventeen in 1680. It will be well to give a special list, in chronological order, of the thirty-one martyrs of New Mexico:

²⁶ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (*The Works of H. H. Bancroft*, XVII) (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 182, note 10.

²⁷ Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

²⁸ J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross. Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado* (Banning, Calif.: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898), p. 65.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

³⁰ Regarding these martyrs of 1680, *vide*, besides the accounts of Ayeta and Vetancurt—which will be mentioned presently in connection with the New Mexican martyrs of 1680—Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 23-24; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 561; Holweek, *loc. cit.*, p. 510. On Fr. Trujillo, also *Archivo Ibero Americano*, VI, 326, and *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, VII, 650-651, the latter containing a letter of his, edited by Fr. Lorenzo Perez O.F.M.

1. Bro. Luis de Escalona, at Pecos, 1544(?)
2. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, at Chilili, 1581
3. Fr. Francisco Lopez, at Puaray (Bernallilo), 1582
4. Bro. Agustin Rodriguez, at Puaray, 1582
5. Fr. Pedro de Miranda, at Taos, 1631
6. Fr. Francisco Letrado, at Hawikuh (Zufi), 1632
7. Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala, at Hawikuh, 1672
8. Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila, at Senecú, 1675
9. Fr. Juan Bernal, at Galisteo, 1680
10. Fr. Domingo de Vera, at Galisteo, 1680
11. Fr. Fernando de Velasco, at Galisteo, 1680
12. Fr. Manuel Tinoco, at Galisteo, 1680
13. Fr. Juan Bautista Pio, at Tesuque, 1680
14. Fr. Tomás de Torres, at Nambé, 1680
15. Fr. Luis de Morales, at San Ildefonso, 1680.
16. Bro. Antonio Sanchez de Pro, at San Ildefonso, 1680
17. Fr. Matias Rendón, at Picuris, 1680
18. Fr. Antonio de Mora, at Taos, 1680
19. Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa, at Taos, 1680
20. Fr. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, at Santo Domingo, 1680
21. Fr. Juan de Talabán, at Santo Domingo, 1680
22. Fr. José de Montesdoca, at Santo Domingo, 1680
23. Fr. Juan de Jesús, at Jemez, 1680
24. Fr. Lucas Maldonado, at Acoma, 1680
25. Fr. Juan del Val, at Halona (Zufi), 1680
26. Fr. Manuel Beltran, at Soledad, 1684
27. Fr. Francisco de Jesús Maria Casañas, at Jemez, 1696
28. Fr. José de Arbizu, at San Cristóbal, 1696
29. Fr. Antonio Carbonel, at San Cristóbal, 1696
30. Fr. Francisco Corvera, at San Ildefonso, 1696
31. Fr. Antonio Moreno, at San Ildefonso, 1696

The protomartyr of New Mexico, Brother Luis de Escalona (or Ubeda), who may be identical with Fray Juan de la Cruz, was a companion of Fr. Juan de Padilla, the protomartyr of the United States and of Texas. When Coronado went back to

Protomartyr Mexico and Fr. Padilla returned to Quivira (1542),

Brother Luis continued his missionary work among the Pueblo Indians at Pecos (Cicuye) near Santa Fe. Brother Luis sent word that the Indians at the latter pueblo were friendly, but some medicine men were hostile to him. Nevertheless, the zealous Brother remained, and nothing was ever heard from him again. It may be regarded as certain, writes Fr. Engelhardt, that Brother Luis was killed by the medicine men; and hence we have retained his name on our list of martyrs.⁸¹

⁸¹ Regarding Brother Luis, supposing that Luis de Escalona was his name

In 1581 Brother Agustin Rodriguez, a pioneer in the northern part of Mexico, went to New Mexico with Fathers Francisco Lopez, superior, and Juan de Santa Maria, accompanied by Francisco Sánchez, called Chamuscado, leader of the expedition, eight soldiers, and nineteen Indians. Br. Agustin Rodriguez After they had explored a large portion of New Mexico, Fr. Juan de Santa Maria decided to return alone and report on what had been seen. Leaving his companions in the neighborhood of Galisteo on September 7, 1581, he met his death on the third day following—which would place the scene somewhere in the vicinity of Chilili. While he was sleeping under a tree, some Indians crushed his head with a heavy stone. Subsequently his companions came to Puaray (Tiguex, near present Bernallilo); and there the missionaries remained, while the soldiers returned to Mexico. Soon after Fr. Lopez was killed by the local Indians with arrows, and Brother Rodriguez was likewise murdered by them a little later.³²

By 1630 the Franciscan missions had in New Mexico reached their zenith with as many as 25 churches and mission centers for 90 pueblos, counting some 60,000 Christian Indians under the spiritual care of about 50 priests;³³ but at this time already the pagan medicine men, who saw themselves deprived more and more of the control they had exercised over the people, were fostering

in the world and Fray Juan de la Cruz his name in religion, *vide* Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*—completed in 1596 and published for the first time by J. Icazbalceta—(Mexico: Antigua Librería, 1870), pp. 742, 743, 745; P. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana, Tercera Parte* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), pp. 335, 610, 611; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 387. Cf. also Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, VII (1919), 194-196; Mooney in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 892; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 218; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 500, 515; and especially Otto Maas, O.F.M., "Die Ersten Versuche einer Missionierung und Kolonisierung Neumexikos," *Ibero Amerikanisches Archiv* (Berlin), VI (1933), 352, 356, 357.

³² Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 401, 763, 764, 765; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, III, 359, 626-628; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, on Fr. Juan pp. 184, 185, on Fr. Lopez p. 404, on Bro. Rodriguez pp. 412-414; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16; Lloyd Mecham, "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1920), 308-312; and above all the excellent study of Otto Maas, O.F.M., *loc. cit.*, 358-363, where he discusses among other things (pp. 362-363) the question whether the soldiers were guilty of deserting the missionaries or the missionaries chargeable with foolhardiness and obstinacy by remaining, and shows that Mecham is certainly wrong when he puts the blame on the missionaries.

³³ Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 893.

that spirit of revolt which became manifest at times and finally developed fifty years later into fanatic hatred of the Spaniards and the Christian religion.

On December 28, 1631, a very cold day, the two soldiers who served as guards at the mission of Taos went into the missionary's kitchen to warm themselves. Incited by the **Pedro de** medicine men, a mob of Indians broke into the house
Miranda and killed the soldiers as well as the missionary, Fr. Pedro de Miranda, whom they found at prayer.³⁴

Some two months later, February 22, 1632, a Sunday in Lent, in the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh, Fr. Francisco Letrado, finding that the Indians did not come to church, went out to exhort them and was killed by a volley of arrows coming from members of his own flock. This murder, too, seems to have been instigated by the medicine men. Not satisfied with the death of Fr. Letrado, the murderers pursued Fr. Martin de Arvide who had just visited his fellow-missionary and also killed him in Arizona, as already mentioned.³⁵

Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, governor of New Mexico, sent an expedition under Thomás de Albizú to avenge Fr. Letrado's death. The party passed the famous rock, El Morro, some thirty miles from Zuñi; and one of the soldiers, Lujan

A Puzzling by name, added an inscription to the many which
Inscription had already been carved into the smooth sandstone.

A very puzzling inscription, it was not deciphered until Lummis lent a helping hand. Reduced to longhand Spanish, the inscription reads: "Se pasaron á 23 de Marzo de 1632 años a la benganza de Muerte del Padre Letrado. Lujan." "They passed on the 23rd of March in the year 1632 to avenge the death of Father Letrado."³⁶

Besides the opposition of the medicine men, there was also the implacable hostility of the Apaches, who made frequent inroads

³⁴ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 414; Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 181.

³⁵ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 52-53; Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ Lummis, *op. cit.*, 479. A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885. Part II (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, IV)* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1892), p. 335, expresses the opinion that Vetancurt's date for Fr. Letrado's death should be changed to 1630; but the inscription on El Morro seems to indicate that there is no need of any correction in this instance.

on the pueblos. On October 7, 1672,³⁷ the Navajos (who were regarded as belonging to the Apaches) made a surprise attack on Hawikuh (Zuñi),³⁸ and killed the resident missionary, Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala, by stoning him to death. The next day, Fr. Juan Galdo, missionary of Halona, came to the deserted village and transferred the martyr's body to Halona.

Another missionary, Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila, perished in an Apache raid, when these dreaded warriors fell upon the pueblo of Senecú on January 23, 1675.³⁹ The survivors fled to Socorro, and Senecú, like Hawikuh, was abandoned. Similarly, because of Apache incursions, the pueblo of Chilili and all those about the Salinas were abandoned before the Revolt of 1680.⁴⁰

As already stated in regard to the last four martyrs in Arizona, much has been written about the martyrs of 1680 which is not based on reliable sources;⁴¹ our authorities on these martyrs are Fr. Francisco Ayeta, who as superior of the New Mexican missions had just gone to Mexico to fetch supplies and returned in time to save the refugees at El Paso;⁴² Doctor Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca, who preached a funeral oration on the martyrs in Mexico City on March 20, 1681;⁴³ Fr. Vetancurt, whose account was

³⁷ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 346-347, gives 1670 as the year, which is corrected to 1672 by Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 338, note 3, according to a manuscript document of 1676.

³⁸ A confrère assured me that the place where this missionary lost his life was Abó, which according to Lummis, *op. cit.*, photograph of Franciscan church at Abó facing page 12, was abandoned in 1670; but in that case the account of Fr. Galdo's transferring of the martyr's body to Halona does not make sense. And Vetancurt says expressly that what he records regarding this martyr was reported by Fr. Nicolás Lopez, custos of New Mexico. Besides there is the documentary evidence of Bandelier.

³⁹ Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 250, who cites two manuscript documents, one from 1676 and another from 1705. Regarding the two victims of the Apaches *vide* also Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 276; and regarding the latter, Saravia, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 256.

⁴¹ Like the secondary sources on which it is based the writer's article, "Land of Martyrs," *Franciscan Herald*, XVIII (1930), 489 *et seq.*, contains not a few errors.

⁴² The reports of Fr. Ayeta are printed in Otto Maas, O.F.M., ed., *Misiones de Nuevo México, Documentos del Archivo general de Indias (Sevilla)* (Madrid: Hijos de T. Minuesa de los Rios, 1929), his list of martyrs with sketches on pp. 86-88.

⁴³ Dr. Sariñana's sermon in an English version was published at Santa Fé, N. M., 1906; *vide* full title of original and translation in Maas, *op. cit.*, 85.

published in 1698;⁴⁴ Fr. Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, who compiled "a compact and very accurate sketch of the bloodiest episode in all Southwestern history" (Lummis) from the Archives of Santa Fé in 1778;⁴⁵ and various contemporary reports and testimonies, the contents of which have been presented in a scholarly and orderly way by Professor Charles W. Hackett.⁴⁶

Ayeta, Vetancurt, and Escalante, all agree that the martyrs of 1680 were twenty-one in number. Escalante, who does not give their names, says that three of them were lay-brothers; but Ayeta indicates in his list that only two were lay-brothers and the rest priests. Fathers Lorenzo Analisa, Juan Espinosa, and Esteban Casalda, whose names are added to the list of martyrs in 1680 by some authors,⁴⁷ were not in the country at the time. Brother Luis de Baeza who is mentioned as an additional martyr, is undoubtedly the same person as Fr. Luis de Morales, of whom Vetancurt tells us that he was a native of Baeza.⁴⁸ The story of a certain Fr. Simon de Jesus, as being one of the martyrs, seems to be based on the report of a Jesuit who was in the country of the Moquis in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is true that in one place Ayeta speaks of twenty-seven martyrs; but that is in his first report of August 31, 1680, which he corrected in his subsequent detailed list of September 11, 1680. Curiously enough, though Fr. Ayeta and Dr. Sariñana both say that there were twenty-one martyrs, they omit the name of one of the martyrs from their respective lists, the former that of Fr. Lucas Maldonado and the latter that of Fr. Juan Bautista Pio. This is undoubtedly an oversight, and since the name in each instance is a different one they mutually supplement each other. Fr. Vetancurt has the names of all twenty-one. The biographical sketches of the individual martyrs supplied by Fr. Ayeta and Fr. Vetancurt are very brief. As already stated, however, an exception is made by Fr.

⁴⁴ His list of the martyrs is in his *Menologio*, pp. 274-275, which, though published only in 1698, had been written already by 1691. *Vide* also his *Cronica* (cf. note 23), pp. 314-328.

⁴⁵ The document in question will be found in Maas, *Las ordenes religiosas de España y la colonización de América en la segunda parte del siglo XVIII*, II (Barcelona: A. G. Belart, 1929), pp. 37 ff.

⁴⁶ In his articles, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, XV (1911-1912), 93-147, and "Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI (1912), 137-168, and 259-276.

⁴⁷ For example, Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁸ *Cronica*, p. 317.

Vetancurt in the case of Fr. José Trujillo, who died in Arizona, and a somewhat more extended notice on Fr. Juan de Jesús is given by Fr. Vetancurt⁴⁹ as well as Fr. Espinosa of the Apostolic College of Querétaro.⁵⁰

It will be well to give an exact translation of the *relacion* of the martyrs of 1680 by Fr. Ayeta, found by Fr. Otto Maas in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville:⁵¹

Names, native places and provinces from which
Fr. Ayeta's came their sons, the twenty-one friars, who while
Record engaged in administering the holy sacraments, were
 killed by apostate Indians of the provinces of New
 Mexico on the 10th day of August in the year 1680:

Galisteo. In this pueblo and friary of Santa Cruz de Galisteo they killed the Very Reverend Padre Fray Juan Bernal, actual Custos of the said provinces and son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico. He arrived in these missions in the past year, 1677. In his company, Padre Fray Domingo de Vera, son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico. He arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1674, on the occasion of my first journey.⁵²

Pecos. In the friary of Porciúncula de los Pecos, the Reverend Padre Fray Fernando de Velasco, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Cádiz. He arrived as a missionary thirty years before, a little more or less.⁵³

Villa de Santa Fe. In one of the visitas of the Villa,⁵⁴ Padre

⁴⁹ *Menologio*, p. 275, and *Cronica*, p. 320. Juan de Jesús along with Diego de Vargas Zapatas is buried in the old church of San Miguel, Santa Fe, N. M. The church now serves as chapel for St. Michael's College.

⁵⁰ Isidro Felis de Espinosa, *Chronica apostolica y seraphica de todos los colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva-España de Misioneros Franciscanos Observantes, Parte primera* (Mexico: Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1746), p. 35.

⁵¹ Legajo 67-3-32, printed in Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo México*, pp. 86-89.

⁵² In 1674 Fr. Ayeta had himself arrived in New Mexico as custos, and had brought along a number of new missionaries. Cf. Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 276.

⁵³ From other sources we know that the missionaries of Pecos and of San Marcos were not killed in their respective pueblos, but near Galisteo, while on the way to give warning to the Fr. Custos and his companion who were in the latter pueblo. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 481.

⁵⁴ The name of this *visita* was Tesuque, and Fr. Pio was on the way from Santa Fe to Tesuque in order to celebrate holy Mass for the feast of St. Lawrence, when he was killed. Cf. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 274.

Fray Juan Bautista Pio, a son of the holy Province of Cantabria, incorporated into that of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Vitoria in the province of Alava. He arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1677.

Nambe. In the friary of Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Nambe, the Reverend Padre Fray Tomás de Torres, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Teposatlán; he arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1677.

San Ildefonso. In the friary of San Ildefonso, Padre Fray Luis de Morales, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Ubeda or Baeza; he arrived as a missionary in 1664. In his company, Brother Fray Antonio Sánchez de Pro, a lay religious, a son of the holy Province of San Diego of Mexico, a native of the same city; he arrived in 1677.

Pecuries. In the friary of San Lorenzo de Pecuries, Padre Fray Matías Rendón, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Los Angeles; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

Taos. In the friary of San Jerónimo de los Taos, Padre Fray Antonio de Mora, son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of the city of Los Angeles; he arrived as a missionary in 1671. In his company, Brother Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, a lay religious, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico; he arrived in 1674.

San Marcos. In the friary of San Marcos, Padre Fray Manuel Tinoco, a son of the holy Province of San Miguel of Extremadura; his status in the Province of the Holy Gospel is not known; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

Santo Domingo. In the friary of Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, the Reverend Padre Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Galicia, from the same place as the brother of Señora Doña Francisca de Losa. And in his company the Very Reverend Padre Fray Juan de Talabán, ex-custos, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Seville; he arrived as a missionary in 1661. Also, Padre Fray José de Montesdoca, a son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of Querétaro; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

Xemes. In the friary of San Diego de los Xemes, Padre Fray Juan de Jesús, a son of the holy Province of Granada, a native of

the same city, incorporated into the Province of Mechoacán; he arrived as a missionary in 1667.

Alona. In the friary of Purísima Concepción de Alona, Padre Fray Juan del Val, a son of the holy Province of Castilla, incorporated into that of the Holy Gospel, a native of a place in Castilla called Val; he arrived as a missionary in 1671.⁵⁵

Aguatubi. In the friary of San Bernardo de Aguatubi, Padre Fray José de Figueroa, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

Xongopavi. In the friary of San Bartolomé de Xongopavi, the Reverend Padre Fray José de Trujillo, a son of the Province, a native of the city of Cádiz; he arrived as a missionary in 1677.

Oraybe. In the friary of San Miguel de Oraybe, the Reverend Padre Fray José de Espeleta, ex-custos, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Estella in the kingdom of Navarra; he arrived as a missionary thirty years previous, a little more or less. In his company, Padre Fray Agustín de Santa Maria, a son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of Pascuaro; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

All the rest have escaped, except three who died a natural death a short time before the event.

This list was accompanied by a letter of which the following is an excerpt:

Most Excellent Sir. . . . The religious who at their post surrendered their lives and their souls to our Creator are twenty-one in number, whose names, Provinces and native places I send to your Excellency in the list which accompanies this letter. May God protect you. . . . At Paso del Rio del Norte, September 11, 1680 . . . Fr. Francisco de Ayeta.

Regarding the martyrs of 1680 I wish to add only that the opinion of such writers as Defourri, and Read who follows him, according to which these missionaries were not martyrs in the ecclesiastical sense, does not seem to be borne out

Opinions not by a careful study of the causes and the events of
Well-founded the revolt. On the contrary, there are numerous indications that the heroes of 1680 were mur-

⁵⁵ Here should be added the one name overlooked by Fr. Ayeta. Dr. Sarrñana's *Oracion fúnebre* and Vetancurt's *Menologio*, p. 275, enable us to supply the following:

Acoma. In the friary of San Estéban de Acoma, Padre Fray Lucas Maldonado, actual definitor, a native of Tribujena (Sevilla).

dered out of hatred for the Christian religion. Men who were on the scene before and after the revolt ascribed the destruction wrought to the machinations of the evil spirit. That there may have been other contributing causes I do not deny. When the meaning of "martyrdom," as the Church understands it, was explained to Dr. Hackett, who has made a thorough study of the revolt of 1680, he expressed it as his opinion that the missionaries who perished at the time deserve to be styled "martyrs" in the true sense.

Regarding the next martyr on our list, Fr. Manuel Beltrán, little more seems to be known than what Fr. Escalante writes briefly about him.⁵⁶ And because he says that this friar was killed at a mission of Tanos Indians, he has been enumerated among the martyrs of New Mexico.⁵⁷ On the accompanying map the scene of his martyrdom is given as San Cristóbal, near Galisteo, since that was the only Tanos pueblo at the time, 1684.⁵⁸ Further investigations, however, have convinced the writer that instead of Tanos Fr. Escalante should have written Janos. He tells us that in 1684, the Zumas and Tanos (Janos rebelled as did the Mansos of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, and through the agency of pagan Mansos killed their missionary, Fr. Manuel Beltrán, and destroyed their church, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Tanos (Janos). We know from other sources⁵⁹ that there was a Janos uprising in 1684; but just where their mission, Soledad, was is difficult to say. It was somewhere near the borderline of New Mexico and Texas and Mexico. Though the place has not been determined, there is no uncertainty about the martyrdom of Fr. Beltrán. And since the uprisings in the vicinity of El Paso at this time were a continuation and extension of the great revolt of 1680, it is well to retain Fr. Beltrán's name among the New Mexican martyrs, at least for the present.

After the reconquest of New Mexico by Diego de Vargas in 1692, the missions were reestablished and remanned by seventeen Franciscans. In 1696, however, there was another and final in-

⁵⁶ Maas, *Las Ordenes*, II, 43.

⁵⁷ Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 496.

⁵⁸ Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 428 and 481.

⁵⁹ Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 88, note; observations on the Janos and Sumas, pp. 86-93.

Martyrs of 1696 surrection, in which five more missionaries lost their lives at three different pueblos. One of them was Fr. Francisco de Jesús Maria Casañas of the Missionary College of Querétaro, who thus became that College's first martyr as well as the first martyr of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide as far as the Franciscans and the New World were concerned. Before coming to New Mexico with other members of the College, he had labored in the Texas missions. In New Mexico the pueblo of San Diego de Jemez (Gyusiwa) ⁶⁰ was assigned to his care. In the uprising of 1696, he was induced to come out of the village by some pagan Indians who told the Father that a man was dying and wished to make his confession. Outside the village the war chief of the pueblo and the interpreter fell upon the missionary and beat him to death with their war clubs, while the latter repeated the names of Jesus and Mary, whose holy names he bore, until life was extinct.⁶¹

At the Tanos pueblo of San Cristóbal the rebels of 1696 made away with Fathers José de Arbizu and Antonio Carbonel; and at the Tewa pueblo of San Ildefonso, Fr. Francisco Corvera, the missionary of the place, and Fr. Antonio Moreno from Nambé who was just visiting his confrère were put to death. At the latter pueblo, during the night of June 4, the rebellious Indians closed up all the windows of the friary, and then set fire to it and to the church; the missionaries perished in the smoke and flames.⁶²

TEXAS

Remarkable is the fact that the first as well as the last of the Franciscan martyrs of the United States (if we except one of our own day) lost their lives in Texas. Here, too, the French and the Spanish missionary friars found common ground; Franciscans not only from Spain but also from France are included among the Texan martyrs.

As early as 1529 Fr. Juan Suarez, Bishop-Elect of the province of Rio de las Palmas which was to include the territory from

⁶⁰ Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 629.

⁶¹ Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica*, Chapters III-XIV of Book IV, containing a biography of this martyr; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 503.

⁶² Holweck, *loc. cit.*, pp. 503-504; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 87, is mistaken when he writes that seven, instead of five, missionaries were killed in 1696.

Florida to Texas, and Brother Juan de Palos succumbed to hunger and exposure on the coast of Texas near Matagorda Bay.⁶³ Both had been missionaries in Mexico and belonged to that distinguished group of Franciscan friars who have been styled "the Twelve Apostles of Mexico."⁶⁴

The recent researches of David Donoghue make it quite clear that the site of Fr. Juan Padilla's martyrdom lies near the Canadian River in the northernmost part of the State, called the Panhandle of Texas; for it is here that the elusive Quivira appears to have been situated, and Fr. Padilla was murdered a day's journey on foot to the south of the camp of the Quivira Indians.⁶⁵ Fr. Padilla accompanied Coronado on his expedition to Quivira; and with the disappointed explorer who had expected to find mysterious treasures there, the missionary returned to Puaray on the Rio Grande opposite present Bernallilo, New Mexico, making the journey on foot as was his custom. With Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian, who were *donados* (oblates or Tertiary Brothers) in the Franciscan Order, and a few Mexican Indian boys, Fr. Padilla then retraced his steps to Quivira. He wanted to devote himself to the conversion of the Indians he had found there; and in this he was partially successful.

Prompted by insatiable zeal, he then desired to turn his attention also to the Guas, a neighboring hostile tribe to the south, and set out for their camp despite the protest of the Quivirans. He and his companions had traveled but one day, when they were overtaken by a band of Quivirans, who were on the war-path and apparently were loathe to see their enemies receive the benefits of Christianity. Begging his companions to flee, Fr. Padilla fell on his knees, and while offering his life to God was pierced from head to foot with many arrows.

His fleeing companions were taken captive and held for ten months as slaves. Escaping from their captors, they wandered

⁶³ Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, a Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membre, O.F.M.* (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 13) (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1934), pp. 194-195.

⁶⁴ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 397, 616, 628, on Fr. Suarez, and p. 207 in addition on Bro. Palos; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 413 and 437 on Fr. Suarez, and 437 and 447 on Bro. Palos.

⁶⁵ David Donoghue, *Coronado, Onate, and Quivira* (*Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, III, No. 3).

thousands of miles across the desert country. After eight long years they finally reached Tampico, Mexico, and reported the heroic death of Fr. Juan Padilla, the protomartyr of Texas and of the United States.⁶⁶ A few years later, Brother Lucas, the companion of Fr. Padilla, likewise became a martyr in Mexico.

Almost a century and a half elapsed before Franciscan missionaries again became martyrs on Texas soil; and this time they were two Flemish friars who had accompanied Zénobe Membré the French explorer La Salle. After La Salle's and Maxim death in 1687, his little orphaned colony at Le Clercq Fort St. Louis, the location of which Prof. Bolton has shown to have been on the Garcitas River near Matagorda Bay, struggled bravely on for two more years. Early in 1689 the Karankawa Indians feigned friendship with the colonists and frequently came to the fort to barter with them for trinkets. One day—it was probably in the middle of January—five of these Indians entered the fort on the pretext of trading and began to barter noisily at a house which stood somewhat apart from the rest. This attracted the attention of the colonists and they gathered around to listen to the bargaining, while other Indians came in to join their tribesmen. Meantime a band of Indian warriors were lying concealed at the river below the fort; and suddenly when the villagers were completely off their guard, they rushed up and mercilessly massacred all the habitants but five who were rescued by Indian women and by them carried to the Indian camp. Among those who were slain were the Sulpician priest, Abbé Chefdeville, and the two Franciscan missionaries, Fathers Zénobe Membré and Maxim Le Clercq.⁶⁷

The appearance of the French in Texas caused the Spaniards to make repeated attempts to colonize and Christianize that territory. In 1718 Brother Luis de Montesdoca lost his life in a Texas

⁶⁶ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 742-744; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 606, 610, 611; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 386-387; P. J. Foik, *Fray Juan Padilla (Preliminary Studies, I, 5), Early Catholic Explorers of the Southwest (Preliminary Studies, I, 2)*, and "The Martyrs of the Southwest," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI (1928), 27 *et seq.*; J. J. O'Gorman, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXIX (1928), 153-173; and the writer's short article, "Historic Missions of Texas," *Franciscan Herald*, XIX (1931), 60 and 85.

⁶⁷ Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, containing the biographical facts known of both martyrs and discussing the sources at length; the account of their death is on pp. 190 and 193.

prairie fire; but since his death, like that of Bishop-Elect Juan Suarez and Brother Juan de Palos, was the result of a natural cause, we do not count him among the martyrs.⁶⁸

Brother José Pita, however, became a martyr, when Apaches killed him in 1721 at a place called Carnizeria, meaning "place of slaughter." It was situated some twenty leagues from the so-called San Xavier missions along the river of the same name. Professor Bolton has identified the place as having been near modern Rockdale.⁶⁹

At the mission of La Candelaria, one of the San Xavier missions, Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal was killed in 1752 by the apostate Indian Andrés at the instigation of Don Felipe de Rábago y Terán, dissolute captain of the presidio of San Xavier. The latter had been guilty of very disorderly conduct, had in fact robbed Juan José Ceballos of his wife. When the exhortations of the missionaries proved fruitless, Fr. Miguel Pinilla, the presidente of the San Xavier missions, excommunicated the captain; and Fr. Ganzábal posted the decree on the presidio door. But nothing was able to halt the wayward captain on his evil course. Ceballos had finally found a place of refuge at La Candelaria mission, when Rábago, "more cruel than Diocletian," sent the Indian Andrés with four soldiers to murder him. When the assassins arrived on the night of May 11, 1752, Ceballos happened to be at the door of one of the rooms while Fathers Pinilla and Ganzábal were within. Suddenly a shot rang out, and Ceballos fell to the ground. Fr. Pinilla came out and stooped down to aid the dying man. Fr. Ganzábal ran to the door to see whence the shot came, and was shot under the left arm by an arrow which pierced his heart. Fr. Pinilla escaped death because he was in a stooping posture, and just at the moment the light in the room went out. Rábago tried to place the blame on some innocent Indians; and as a result two of the missions were abandoned by the natives. After that a curse seemed to rest on the whole territory; the San Xavier River, Fr. Morfi tells us, was dried up by a drought,

⁶⁸ Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 495.

⁶⁹ Fray Juan Agustin Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, translated, with biographical introduction and annotations by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, in two parts (*Quivira Society Publications*, VI) (Albuquerque, N. M.: The Quivira Society, 1935), I, 235, note 42.

brambles and briars grew up everywhere, and mysterious voices were heard.⁷⁰

Two years previous, in 1750, Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva was killed by Natages Indians near the Presidio del Rio Grande and Mission San Juan Bautista. Loyal Indians had told the military authorities of the forthcoming attack; but the warn-

Francisco ing was not taken seriously until it was too late.

Xavier Silva Both presidio and mission were situated on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, although they

were counted among the Texas outposts of the time. There is no doubt, however, that Fr. Silva lost his life on the Texas side of the Rio Grande. To Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, author of the first two volumes of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, which have just made their appearance, the writer is greatly indebted for the following very timely and valuable information taken from an original eye-witness account of the martyrdom of Fr. Silva. This missionary, a member of the Apostolic College of Zacatecas, and eight soldiers were killed about fifteen miles east of the presidio, while on the way from San Antonio to the missions on the Rio Grande. Their bodies were discovered a few days later by an Indian messenger making the same journey in the other direction. Fr. Silva's body was taken to San Juan Bautista for burial.⁷¹

The two martyrs of the Apache mission of San Sabá, Fathers Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and José Santiesteban, lost their lives when a band of northern Indians, enemies of the Apaches,

including Texas, Tonkawas, Bidais, and Comanches, swooped down on the mission on the morning

Alonso of March 16, 1757. Another missionary, Fr.

Giraldo Miguel Molina, was wounded over the chest on the

and José right side, but did not die from the wound. Fr.

Santiesteban Terreros was shot down at the mission gate with

two bullets and was pierced with a lance; Fr. Santiesteban was

⁷⁰ Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-332, 338-341, 350-351, 394, 413; Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1915), pp. 260-261; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.

⁷¹ *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, vols. I and II, published by Von Boeckmann Jones Co., Austin, Texas, contain the history of the earlier Mission Era, and were written under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus; additional volumes will appear, the aim being to present a complete history of the Catholic Church in Texas. Cf. also Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-309; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, where 1749 is given as the year of this martyr's death.

decapitated while kneeling before the altar in the church, his head being severed from the body at the shoulders.⁷²

"The last of the friars," that is, of the Spanish and Mexican friars who labored in the early missions, was Fr. José Antonio Diaz de Leon. A worthy successor of Venerable Fr. Antonio

José Antonio Margil, he was known as a man of great virtue
Diaz and exemplary life. He was murdered, not by Indians, but by turbulent American frontiersmen in November, 1834. When the Texas missions were "secularized," 1813-1825, Father Diaz was their superior. With what heavy hearts the missionaries left is indicated by the last words in the register of Mission Concepcion: "Como la muerte" — "Like unto death." In 1832, however, the Bishop of Monterey, Mexico, sent Fr. Diaz to minister to the wants of the scattered Catholics in the vicinity of Nacogdoches in eastern Texas. At the time this territory was overrun by Yankee bandits, criminals, and restless characters, who hated the Catholic Church and its priests. After leaving the house of a friend by the name of Prentiss Bordon, where on November 4, 1834, he wrote a farewell letter to his flock in which he anticipated a martyr's death and forgave his enemies, Fr. Diaz was never again seen alive. Fr. P. F. Parisot, O.M.I., who made a missionary journey in these parts in 1853, also made investigations regarding the death of Fr. Diaz; and he came to the conclusion that most probably the murder of the missionary took place near San Augustine, some thirty miles south-east of Nacogdoches.⁷³

FLORIDA

Since the present State of Georgia was a part of Spanish Florida, the martyrs of that State may also be called martyrs of Florida. But here we are speaking only of the State of Florida; and of the eight martyrs in this area, one died at Tororo (Jororo), south of St. Augustine, and the others on different occasions in the Apalache missions near present Tallahassee.

⁷² Arrievita, *op. cit.*, Chapters I-XII of Book III, especially p. 378; Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-385; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-81.

⁷³ P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith, O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio, Texas, 1685-1897* (San Antonio, Texas: Francis J. Bowen, 1897); Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 514. Streit, *Der letzte Franziskaner von Texas*, is a short historical novel in which Fr. Diaz is the central figure. For Fr. Diaz' last letter, translated into English, *vide* the writer's article, "The Franciscan Martyrs of Texas," *Franciscan Herald*, XXIV (1936), 231-233.

After the insurrection of the Apalache Indians in 1657, all the missionaries who had been laboring among them were compelled to depart; and all of them drowned in the gulf or while crossing the channel on the way to Havana, Cuba. They are listed by some among the martyrs, but we have not included them in our list.⁷⁴

The protomartyrs of the Franciscans in Florida, so far as we have been able to ascertain, met their death in 1647. Provoked by the unreasonable demands of the Governor of Spanish Florida, the Indians of the Apalache district rose in a rebellion and killed three of the eight missionaries laboring among them, as well as nine other Spaniards. The latter seem to have been the Lieutenant Governor and his family. The documents consulted all state that three missionaries were put to death but none mentions their names. Hence beyond the fact of their martyrdom we can furnish little information.⁷⁵ Concerning the other Florida martyrs we have more definite knowledge.

Early in 1697 twenty Franciscan missionaries arrived in Florida; and eight of their number were sent to the new missions of Tororo, Mayaca, Anacapi, San Antonio, and San Joseph, south of St. Augustine. In October of the same year, **Luis Sanchez** the pagans of these five towns rose up against the Spaniards, and killed one missionary, Fr. Luis Sanchez, one soldier, and five Indian converts; and after burning the mission structures, they disappeared in the woods. Without flock or shelter, the surviving missionaries were forced to return to St. Augustine. However, six friars, of whom one who was the superior knew the language of the district, tried once more to bring about the conversion of these Indians; and according to a report of the Fr. Provincial, dated August 15, 1698, their persevering efforts were crowned with success.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Engelhardt, "Missionary Labors of the Franciscans among the Indians of the Early Days" (Florida), *Franciscan Herald*, II (1914), 143-144, says it is impossible to say how many missionaries drowned; Mooney in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 390, suggests eight, no doubt, because eight missions were destroyed.

⁷⁵ The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Fr. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., who consulted photostats in the care of Dr. Robertson, Archivist of Maryland. The original manuscripts in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville) are numbered as follows: 54-5-9, 105; 54-5-20, 52; 54-5-20, 54; 54-5-20, 58. Cf. also Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 68.

⁷⁶ Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 223-224; Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 457-458; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 498.

Similarly the Apalache missions had been reestablished, so that by 1655 this district had ten missions and in 1680 fourteen. They were in a flourishing condition when the English appeared on the scene early in the following century, and destroyed them all except one which survived only for a short time. It was at the close of 1703, that a force of English under Governor Moore with one thousand savage allies invaded this territory. Lieutenant Juan Ruiz de Mejia, commander of a little garrison in the district, prepared to resist the invaders; and Fr. Juan de Parga, missionary at San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali, urged the Indians to fight bravely, since no death was more glorious than that suffered for the Faith. After the missionary had imparted absolution to all, Mejia advanced against the enemy with thirty Spanish soldiers and four hundred Apalache Indians. The commander asked Fr. Parga to remain behind, but the missionary would not desert his flock. On January 25, 1704, the courageous little army twice repulsed the enemy near Ayubale in the vicinity of present Tallahassee; but when their ammunition gave out, most of them were killed or captured.

Among the prisoners were Mejia who had been wounded and Fathers Juan de Parga and Angel Miranda. Many of them were at once tied to stakes, tortured, and burned to death. Several of the Apalache Indians manifested a heroism similar to that of the first Christians, particularly Antonio Enixa of Mission San Luis at Talimali (Talpatqui) and Amador Cuipa Feliciano of the same town. Father Parga was burned at the stake and beheaded, and one of his legs was hacked off. Brother Marcos Delgado was slain while trying to save Father Parga. Fr. Miranda vainly tried to put a stop to the carnage by appealing to Governor Moore.

A party of the invaders also went to the mission at Patali; and there an apostate Indian called Fr. Manuel de Mendoza, who was shot through the head as he opened the window. The town of Patali was reduced to ashes.

Meanwhile Moore sent word to Perez who still held the block-house at Mission San Luis, two miles west of the present Tallahassee, and offered to give up Mejia, Fr. Miranda, and four soldiers for a consideration not

specified; but since Perez was unable to furnish a satisfactory ransom price, these too were burned at the stake.⁷⁷

Those Apalache Indians who were not killed or captured finally submitted to the invaders. After killing about 200 Christian Indians and all the Spaniards except those at San Luis, Moore departed carrying into slavery 1,400 Apalache warriors. Of the eleven mission towns in the Apalache district at the time, only Ybithachucu (Mission San Lorenzo) escaped destruction. Afterwards Fr. Juan de Villaba came with others to the ruined region, saw the houses demolished and the cultivated fields destroyed, and found the bodies of men and women scalped, mutilated, burned, some of them half-burned, hanging from stakes or pierced by them. Fr. Parga's mangled body was found and taken to Ybithachucu. In the Patali ruins Fr. Mendoza's body was found half consumed by fire, his beads and partly melted crucifix having sunk into the flesh. It seems no trace of Fr. Miranda and of Brother Delgado was found. Ybithachucu was kept up for a while longer, and then the Indians who remained moved to the new French fort at Mobile.⁷⁸

Of the Apalache martyrs, Shea writes as follows: "The martyrdom of Ayubale has no parallel in our annals except in the deaths of Fathers Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier, in the Huron country, which has been so often and so pathetically described; but the butcheries perpetrated there were not enacted before the eyes and by the order of the Governor of a Christian colony."⁷⁹ Since the English were prompted not only by greed but also by hatred of the Catholic religion, the Apalache missionaries who perished in the Anglo-Spanish conflict were not mere victims of war and may be called martyrs. The same may be said of three unnamed Franciscans of the Guale mission, in present Georgia, if they were killed by Moore's army; we know only that they were taken prisoners by Governor Moore in 1702,⁸⁰ and hence we have not included them in our list of martyrs.

⁷⁷ Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 186, writes that they were redeemed and set free; but all the other writers on this subject say that they were killed.

⁷⁸ Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 265-266, who refers to Bro. Delgado as Fr. Delgado; H. E. Bolton and M. Ross, *The Debatable Land, a Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1925), p. 61.

⁷⁹ *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 463.

⁸⁰ Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 459; Bolton-Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

GEORGIA

In the province of Guale, however, five Franciscan missionaries had already died as martyrs at a much earlier date. The son of a cacique, called Don Juan or Don Juanillo by some, had accepted Christianity; but after some time he was no longer satisfied with one lawful wife and relapsed into polygamy, the pagan mode of life. Reprimanded for this by the missionary of Tolomato, opposite Zapala Island, namely Fr. Pedro de Corpa, Don Juan secretly rejoined the pagan Indians and set on foot a revolt against the missionaries in the whole province. Five missionaries were killed, all of them with the *macana*, a stone hatchet or tomahawk, and one was held as a slave for ten months. Since an early account of the martyrs of Georgia is now available in an excellent English translation with copious notes,⁸¹ it will not be necessary to describe their martyrdom in detail. Suffice it to say, that Fr. Pedro de Corpa was killed on September 13; Fr. Blas de Rodriguez at Tupiqui, likewise on the mainland three leagues to the north of Tolomato, on September 16, after he had been held by the insurgents for two days; Fr. Miguel de Auñón, the Commissary, and his companion, Brother Antonio de Bádañoz, on Guale Island (St. Catherines Island), September 17; and Fr. Francisco de Verascola, on the island of Asao (St. Simon Island), some time after September 17 as he was returning to his mission from St. Augustine. The missionary who was not killed but held as a captive for almost a year was Fr. Francisco de Avila.⁸²

That the martyrs of Georgia died as champions of the Christian law of monogamy is confirmed by a statement of the Fathers Definitor of the Custody of Santa Elena in a letter to the king, dated October 16, 1612. It reads as follows: "Although the Indians did not martyr the friars for the faith, it is certain that they martyred them because of the law of God which the religious taught them. This is the reason they gave and which they attest to today, since they realize their sin. . . . It is known in this

⁸¹ Luis Gerónimo de Oré, O.F.M., *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*, translated, with biographical introduction and notes, by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 18) (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936), pp. 73-94.

⁸² An account of his captivity written by himself is incorporated into that of Fr. Oré. Regarding the martyrs of Georgia, cf. also Lanning, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-90; Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 356-357 and 391-393.

land that since the death of those holy religious this people has become docile and mild-mannered attaining the point they show today.”⁸³

MICHIGAN

Having labored in Canada for some time at Longueil and S. François de Sales, Fr. Nicolas Benoit (or Bernardin) Constantin Delhalle in 1701 accompanied Cadillac's party together with

Nicolas B. C. Delhalle Father Francois Vaillant du Gueslis, S.J. He was to serve as chaplain to the French, while the Jesuit was to do missionary work among the Indians.

The latter, however, returned to Canada without having established an Indian mission. On July 21, 1701, the building of Fort Pontchartrain was commenced at what is now Detroit, Michigan; and on the 26th they began to erect a chapel which was dedicated to St. Anne. When this structure was destroyed by fire in 1703, a new chapel was built. In the war between the Miami and Ottawa Indians, 1706, Fr. Delhalle was killed by a bullet fired by one of the latter when he tried to establish peace among the combatants.⁸⁴

ILLINOIS

Driven from the Great Village of the Illinois Indians by invading Iroquois on September 18, 1680, Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zénobe Membré with Henri de Tonti and three

Gabriel de la Ribourde Frenchmen paddled up the Illinois River in a wretched canoe. At noon on the following day, September 19, they landed on the north bank of the river; and while the rest were engaged in re-

pairing the canoe, Fr. Gabriel strolled into the woods to say his breviary. Just at that time the Kickapoo Indians of southern Wisconsin had sent some of their young men in war parties against the Iroquois; and learning that the latter were attacking the Great village of the Illinois, they turned in that direction.

Father Gabriel had walked about a thousand paces into the

⁸³ Oré-Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁸⁴ Richard R. Elliott, "The Martyred Recollect—The Bones and Ashes of the Martyred Recollect, Father Constantin Delhalle, Who Was the Founder and First Pastor of St. Anne's Church, Detroit," *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, XIII (1896), 17-22; B. Hammer, O.F.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 147; Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 620, 623, 629.

woods, when an advance guard of three Kickapoo braves espied him. They hid themselves in the tall grass, and as the unsuspecting and inoffensive old missionary approached, they beat him on the head with their war clubs and wantonly killed him. After they had perpetrated the foul deed, they scalped their victim and cast his body into a hole.

Taking the breviary from which the Father had been reading, they returned to their war party, which consisted of some forty mad youths. There they displayed the scalp of the murdered missionary as that of an Iroquois, and danced around it in triumph. A Jesuit missionary subsequently found Fr. Gabriel's breviary in the hands of some Kickapoo Indians, and learned the sad story of the missionary's death. His body was found by some Illinois Indians, who identified it as that of the venerable and kind-hearted "grey-coat" who had labored among them as a missionary. Reverently they carried his remains away and buried them after the manner of their tribe.

Thus perished Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, the first to give his life in God's service on Illinois soil. "Surely," writes his companion, Fr. Membré, who himself later became a Martyr in Texas, "he deserved a better fate, if indeed we can desire a happier one before God than to die in the exercise of the apostolic functions, by the hands of nations to whom we are sent by God." A modest monument commemorating the death of Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde now stands on the grounds of St. Patrick's Church at Seneca, Illinois, the site of his martyrdom.⁸⁵

NEBRASKA

In the spring of 1720 the Spanish governor of New Mexico sent a party of Spaniards and Indians under Pedro de Villasur to explore the Missouri River, to search for mines, to expel the French who had been reported as having entered those parts and intending to conquer New Mexico, and apparently also to found a colony. When they met the warlike Pawnee Indians, the latter pretended to be the friendly Pani-Mahas whose language they spoke. But after the

⁸⁵ Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, pp. 68-70; "Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O.F.M., the First Martyr in Illinois," *Mid-America*, New Series, II (1930-1931), 103-120 and 225-235; "The Site of the Great Illinois Village," *ibid.*, V (1933), 3-13; "Gabriel de la Ribourde," *Franciscan Herald*, XVIII (1930), 442-443.

Spaniards had retreated a day's march from the confluence of the Loup and Platte Rivers (called San Pedro y San Pablo and San Lorenzo Rivers by the Spaniards), they were surprised by the Pawnees and most of them were massacred. Among the first to fall were the commander Villasur and Fr. Pedro de Minguéz who was at his side. Fr. Juan de Dios, after escaping twice was again taken prisoner and finally ransomed, it seems, by the French. The death of Fr. Pedro de Minguéz probably occurred on or about August 12, 1720. The site of the massacre according to Professor E. E. Blackman, was the Foley farm about two to three miles west of Monroe in Platte County, or a few miles west of Columbus on the Looking Glass Creek.⁸⁰

COLORADO

On Sunday morning, February 23, 1908, Fr. Leo Heinrichs of the Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Name, the pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church, Denver, Colorado, instead of saying Mass at eight o'clock, as was his wont, celebrated holy Mass at six o'clock. Another Father was to say Mass at that time; but he had become ill and Fr. Leo volunteered to take his place. As Fr. Leo was distributing holy Communion, his heart was suddenly pierced by a bullet from the gun of a fanatical priest-hater; and though he fell to the floor mortally wounded, he tried to replace the Sacred Particles which had fallen from the overturned ciborium. Two Fathers from the friary hurried to the scene; and while one picked up the consecrated Hosts from the floor, the other administered the last sacraments to the dying priest. A moment later, Fr. Leo breathed his last where he had fallen—at the foot of Mary's altar. Though all had admired him as a model priest, none had suspected that he carried his austerities to the point of wearing the chains of linked steel with sharp hooks, which were found wrapped about his waist and upper arms. The process for his beatification was begun in October, 1926; and in January, 1933, twenty-five years after his death, the testimony of the various courts was sent to the Holy

⁸⁰ E. Hagedorn, *Franciscans in Nebraska and Historical Sketches of Mid-Nebraska* (Humphrey: The Humphrey Democrat, and Norfolk: The Norfolk Daily News, 1931), pp. 191-192, where various references to Fr. Minguéz are mentioned; *vide* also Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p. 125; and Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 498.

See. His grave is in the friars' plot at Holy Sepulchre Cemetery, Paterson, New Jersey.⁸⁷

CANADA

Some of the Franciscan martyrs of the United States were missionaries of New France; namely, those of Michigan and Illinois and two of those in Texas. In Canada proper, the protomartyr was a Franciscan, Fr. Nicolas Viel. With his neophyte companion, Ahuntsic, he was thrown by Huron Indians into the rapids near Montreal in 1623. The place now bears the name Sault-au-Récollet, and monuments to both the missionary and his disciple have been erected there; another monument to Fr. Viel is at Rivière-des-Prairies.⁸⁸

It is well to mention also that Fr. Guillaume Poullain, another Franciscan, was tortured by Iroquois, as early as 1619, and died the next year in France, probably in consequence of the harsh treatment he had received; and that Fr. Bernardin Sebastien, likewise a Franciscan, perished in the woods of Acadia, now Nova Scotia, in 1623. But according to the rules we have set down, these friars are not included in our list of martyrs.⁸⁹

Information kindly supplied by Fr. John Lenhart, O.M.Cap., enables us to add here a brief notice regarding a Capuchin martyr of Nova Scotia, Fr. Leonard of Chartres. He was killed by the English in 1654 or 1655 at Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, because of his defense of Catholic settlers and Catholic Indians.⁹⁰ Fr. Lenhart has also called our attention to an Irish Capuchin missionary of Virginia, Fr. Chris-

⁸⁷ A. Callahan, O.F.M., *Medieval Francis in Modern America* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 331-333; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 498.

⁸⁸ Gabriel Sagard Theodat, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Freres Mineurs Recollects y ont faits pour la Conversion des Infideles depuis l'An 1615, avec un Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*—published for first time in 1636. 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), III, 795; Chrestien Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*—translated by Shea. 2 vols. (New York: John G. Shea, 1881-1882), I, 244-247; O.-M. Jouve, O.F.M., *Le Troisieme Centenaire de L'Etablissement de la Foi au Canada, 1615-1915* (Quebec, 1917), facing p. 245, and *Les Franciscains et le Canada, I. L'Etablissement de la Foi, 1615-1629* (Quebec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915), facing p. 337, pictures of the monuments.

⁸⁹ Jouve, *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, I, 140, 145, 176, 195-198; J. Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884), 265-266.

⁹⁰ *Brevis missionis Accadiae descriptio*, written in 1656, first printed in

topher Plunkett, who was imprisoned by the English and died as a result of the cruelties inflicted on him, 1697. Very probably, however, this martyr died on the island of Jamaica and not on the North American continent.⁹¹

MEXICO

In and around Mexico City, where the military conquest of Cortés was followed by a spiritual conquest which was no less remarkable, martyrs are singularly absent until modern times.

However, though none of the missionaries from the Old World were martyred here during the colonial period, the early records tell us of several native boys, helpers of the missionaries, who won the martyr's crown. Thus we know of little Cristóbal who was killed at Tlaxcala by his own father, a pagan priest. And Fr. Joseph Thompson has kindly supplied the names of two other boy martyrs, Antonio and Juan. It was especially among the wild tribes of the northern provinces that the blood of martyrs flowed in abundance.⁹²

The protomartyr of Mexico was a Franciscan lay brother, Brother Juan Calero of the friary of Etzatlan in the province or state of Jalisco. With his father Guardian, Fr. Antonio de Cuel-

lar, subsequently also a martyr, he had labored for a considerable time among the natives of the vicinity and had baptized many of them. While Fr. Antonio was away attending a Provincial Chapter, some of the neophytes rebelled, burned their villages, and retired into the mountains of Tequila. Brother Juan was selected for the task of bringing back the rebels. Having prepared himself for this hazardous undertaking by the reception of the sacraments, he set out with three native boys who served as catechists; but he was unable to induce the rebels to return. He and his companions were killed, not by the Indians with whom he had pleaded, but by others who happened to appear on the scene, June 10, 1541.⁹³

Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1904 (Ottawa, 1905), Appendix H, pp. 333-341.

⁹¹ *Bullarium Capucinatorum*, V (Rome, 1748), p. 277.

⁹² Cf. the writer's articles, "The Century before Harvard," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, XCV (1936), 267-273; and "Ixtilxochitl," *Franciscan Herald*, XXV (1936), 36-37.

⁹³ Mendieta, *op. cit.* (hereafter referred to simply as Mendieta), pp. 628,

Returning from the Provincial Chapter he had attended at the time Brother Calero had lost his life, Fr. Antonio de Cuellar was likewise murdered by Indians near Etzatlan on August 14, apparently in the same year, 1541.⁹⁴

The zealous French Franciscan, Fr. Bernardo Cossin (Cozin) in 1564 was killed with arrows by the Indians in the Sierra or mountains near Durango, after the Franciscans had established friaries a short time before at Nombre de Dios and Durango.⁹⁵

At Topia Indians of the same territory in the same year killed two unnamed Franciscans, one old and the other young.⁹⁶ But it seems that there were many others of whom we have no record. A report to the Cardinal Protector Francesco Barberini, prepared in 1635 by the General Commissary Fr. Francisco de Ocaña, declares that more than fifty friars engaged in missionary work were killed by the Indians. Of course, this number may well include martyrs in territory which is now part of the United States. Fr. Arlegui, chronicler of the Franciscan Province of Zacatecas, writes regretfully that the names of all the martyrs have not been handed down; and Fr. Lemmens is of the opinion that it will hardly be possible for historians ever to make a complete list of the Franciscan martyrs in New Spain during the sixteenth century.⁹⁷

One or two years after Fr. Cossin's death two more Franciscans were killed by the Indians of Durango, Fr. Juan de Tapia, who according to Mendieta had baptized ten thousand Indians, and the *donado* or Tertiary-brother, Lucas, who had been a companion of Fr. Juan de Padilla. They were on the way to a Provincial Chapter, when they were attacked by Indians in the mountains of Durango at a place

735, 737-739, 756; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, III (hereafter referred to simply as Torquemada), 447, 602, 604, 606-609, 621, 622; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, June 10; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁹⁴ Mendieta, pp. 628, 736, 739-741; Torquemada, pp. 447, 592, 605, 608, 609; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, August 14; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

⁹⁶ Mendieta, pp. 735, 745, 746; Torquemada, pp. 605, 612, 613; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, March 19; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 1, where the date of the earlier authors is corrected; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

⁹⁶ Mendieta, p. 746; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 2; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

⁹⁷ Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

called Tapias. Taking their crucifixes in their hands, they knelt down and were shot to death with arrows. The eminent French student of New Spain, Robert Ricard, informs us that on his extended missionary journeys, Fr. Juan de Tapia had also visited Sinaloa and described that province in a letter to Viceroy Velasco, dated May 7, 1556.⁹⁸

Another Father Guardian of Etzatlan in Jalisco, Fr. Francisco Lorenzo, and his companion, Brother Juan, together with several catechist boys, were killed by Indians while on a mission journey. Mendieta does not indicate the year, but Cuevas thinks it was 1560. The Indians were, no doubt, of the neighborhood. They are called Chichimecos; but Mendieta makes it clear that this was merely a general name for all pagan and barbarous tribes.⁹⁹

Two other members of the Franciscan Province of Jalisco, Frs. Francisco Donzel and Pedro de Burgos, were shot to death in

1567 (according to Cuevas) by pagan Indians, while they were on a journey from Mexico to Michoacan.¹⁰⁰

As early as 1567 also, four Franciscans won the martyr's crown in the present state of Sinaloa. Fr. Pablo de Azevedo, a native of Portugal, and Brother Juan de Herrera, were shot to death with arrows by Indians near

Culiacan, the present capital of Sinaloa. Two additional Franciscans whose names are not known were likewise killed in Sinaloa in the same year.¹⁰¹

In the same year an unnamed Franciscan was killed at a place called Punta de Santa Elena, while on his way to Saltillo in Coahuila.¹⁰²

About 1580, Fr. Juan Cerrato (Cerrado, de Serrato), the Fr.

⁹⁸ Mendieta, pp. 445, 744-746; Torquemada, pp. 237, 611, 613; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, August 23; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 5; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁹⁹ Mendieta, pp. 628, 747-749, 751, 753-755, 757-758; Torquemada, pp. 447, 536, 612-623; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁰ Mendieta, pp. 761, 762; Torquemada, p. 625; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, January 8; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁰¹ Mendieta, pp. 382, 760, 761; Torquemada, pp. 337, 342, 343, 347, 623-625; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, December 29; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 3; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218.

¹⁰² Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 4.

Guardian of the friary at Sombrerete in the province of Zacatecas, learned that some wild Indians in the mountains still kept and honored a large number of idols. He went to the spot, **Juan** called Atotonilco, and with the help of some loyal In- **Cerrato** dians threw the idols on the ground and destroyed their altars. But this fearless deed cost them their lives; the pagans suddenly came upon them and shot them all to death.¹⁰³

Fr. Luis de Villalobos was on his way from Zacatecas to Guadalajara when he was killed by Indians in 1582 near Colotlán, Zacatecas, in an arroyo called Del Fraile.¹⁰⁴

Luis de Villalobos Fr. Andrés de Ayala, Guardian of the friary at Guainamota, Jalisco, and Fr. Francisco Gil, lost their lives in a revolt of the Indians which had been provoked by an injustice committed by certain Spaniards. According to Mendieta, these men, after securing the permission of the Audiencia took possession of a mine claimed **Andres de Ayala** by the Indians. And when the Father Guardian showed the Indians the decree favoring **and Francisco Gil** the Spaniards, he and his companion were murdered, 1585.¹⁰⁵

Fr. Andrés de la Puebla was on the way to the Indians of the Sierra de Topia in Durango and had not yet **Andrés de** reached Canatlán, when he was met by a large band **la Puebla** of hostile Indians; and after cruelly torturing the missionary, the savages finally killed him with arrows, 1586.¹⁰⁶

In the same year, Fr. Juan del Rio, Guardian of the friary of Santa Maria de las Charcas in the province of San **Juan** Luis Potosi, was assisting the dying after an attack of **del Rio** Indians on a ranch near the friary, when the Indians appeared again on the scene and also killed the missionary.¹⁰⁷

After a successful missionary career, Fr. Martin Altamirano

¹⁰³ Mendieta, p. 759, who is mistaken when he calls fr. Cerrato Guardian of Zapotlán; Torquemada, pp. 346, 623; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, December 9; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 8; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁴ Mendieta, p. 765; Torquemada, p. 628; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, February 13; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 7; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁵ Mendieta, pp. 765-766; Torquemada, pp. 628-630; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, July 3; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁶ Mendieta, p. 767; Torquemada, pp. 633-634; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Mendieta, p. 768; Torquemada, p. 634; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 10.

Martin Altamirano was murdered, 1606, in the mountains near Monterrey, province of Nuevo Leon. His murderers were pagan Indians of Silla, who had witnessed with chagrin how this apostolic man "depopulated the fields of Indians in order to fill the pueblos with Christians."¹⁰⁸

A decade later (1616) Fr. Pedro Gutierrez was killed by wild Tepehuan Indians at Atotonilco or Santa Catalina in Durango, where the Jesuits had begun to do missionary work. While Fr.

Pedro Gutierrez Pedro was in the town of Santa Catalina, the place was attacked by Tepehuan Indians; and the Spaniards gathered in a house to defend themselves. But when the Indians set fire to the building on all sides, Fr. Pedro went out to negotiate with them only to be met by a volley of arrows. The other Spaniards perished in the same way or in the fire. Fr. Pedro's remains were recovered and buried in the college which the Jesuits had founded at Papasquiario.¹⁰⁹

The martyrs of Mexico enumerated thus far lost their lives in various provinces north of Mexico City; but there were two martyrs also in the southern province of Yucatan: Fr. Diego Del-

Diego Delgado and Juan Henriquez gado and Brother Juan Henriquez, his companion. After the friars had founded three new mission stations among the Indians in southern Yucatan, Fr. Delgado and his companion were cruelly murdered by the Itzas, 1624, the former being cut into pieces and his head set on a stake.¹¹⁰

In the northern provinces, however, other missionaries were martyred from time to time as before. Thus the two Fathers, Tomás Zigarrán and Francisco Labado, were murdered, 1645, in an uprising of the Conchos of Chihuahua.¹¹¹

Near the place called San Juan del Rio in Durango, Fr. Esteban Benitez was killed by wild Indians while he was making a journey, 1686.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 12; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁹ Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 14; Bolton, "The Black Robes of New Spain," *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1935, p. 269; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

¹¹⁰ P. A. Means, *History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas* (largely English versions of original narratives), p. 81; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹¹¹ Saravia, *op. cit.*, nos. 25 and 26; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹¹² Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 30; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Angered by the reprimands they had received from their missionaries, the Indians at Milpillas in Durango in 1704 put to death the two Fathers, Ramiro Alvarez and Diego Hevia.¹¹³

Ramiro Alvarez and Diego Hevia The last two of the Franciscan martyrs of colonial Mexico won the martyr's crown in Sonora, south of the Mexican border. Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernave (Barnabé), presidente of the Sonora missions, was stoned to death by Indians at Carrizal on March 7, 1773.¹¹⁴

Felipe Guillen Fr. Felipe Guillen, missionary of Tubutama, Sonora, was murdered by Seris or Apaches on April 27, 1778, while on his way from Santa Teresa to Ati.¹¹⁵

The last three of the thirty-six Franciscan martyrs of Mexico were barbarously killed by agents of the government in our own day, only eight years ago. They were Fr. Juniper de la Vega, at Ecuandureo, Michoacán; his companion, Brother Humilde Martinez, at Zamora in the same State; and

Martyrs of Today Fr. José Perez, at Celaya, Guanajuato. The latter had been ordained a priest at the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Since these martyrs are so near to us and the edifying story of their death is so little known, it will be well to relate their martyrdom in some detail. Having received orders from their Father Provincial to repair to Mexico City and thence to the United States, where they were to conduct a novitiate, Father Junipero and Brother Humilde, fearing to take a train, left Zamora on foot and received a lift to the neighboring village of Piedad. There they had meant to entrain; but some Judas had betrayed them, and they were met at Piedad by a body of soldiers.

From his barracks prison Brother Humilde wrote to his Father Provincial on February 4, 1928: "I am in a cell which was occupied by a martyr before me. . . . His blood can still be seen sprinkled about. . . . I am sending you a bit of earth soaked with his blood."

¹¹³ Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 35; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

¹¹⁴ Arrievita, *op. cit.*, p. 521; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 41; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 384, with maps on pp. 384 and 393; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 63-66, 67, note; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹¹⁵ Arrievita, *op. cit.*, pp. 488 and 524-529; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 46; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 182; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

The morning after their capture, the two friars were transferred to Yurecuaro, and questioned by an officer named Fox.

"How many Masses have you celebrated to date?" Fox asked Fr. Junipero.

"Figure it out," replied the priest; "I was ordained in 1905."

"I am not asking you about that; I mean, how many Masses have you celebrated since it is forbidden?"

"To tell the truth, as many as I could."

That fearless reply sealed their doom. During the night that followed neither of the friars slept. Wrote Brother Humilde to his Father Provincial on February 5: "I have spent the whole night asking God to pardon me my sins, and commending my soul to the Blessed Virgin Mary; for I am sure that we are going to be sentenced to death. Do not trouble to answer this; likely I shall not receive your letter."

Father Junipero had spent the whole night hearing the confessions of Catholic prisoners; and at dawn Brother Humilde found him prostrate in prayer.

"Father," he said, "you should rest a little now; you have been up all night."

"Brother," answered the priest, "there is no use resting now; we have got to get ready for Heaven."

Their surmises were correct. That day soldiers came and took them on a train bound for Zamora. Near Ecuandureo the train halted. Father Junipero was ordered to get off; and while trembling Brother Humilde looked on, soldiers rid-
Junipero de la dled the Father with bullets. The martyr's
Vega, 1928 body, strange to say, remained standing in an erect position; and the officer directed his men to throw the body down. This they did, dragging the corpse by the hair; and leaving the body lie on the ground, they reentrained.

Near Zamora Brother Humilde was made to get off and was likewise shot down in his tracks. His body was rolled into a roadway trench and left there. Catholics of Zamora, including a sister of Brother Humilde, found the latter's body;
Humilde and having obtained leave to bury it, they carried it in
Martinez, state to the home of the martyr's sister. An immense
1928 concourse of people came to pay their respects all day and night, praying and leaving flowers. On February 7, the funeral took place in a triumphant manner.

Father Junipero's body was also found by a herdsman, who hid it from profanation. But when the people of Ecuandureo learned about the matter, they took charge and provided a triumphant burial, at which were heard shouts of "Long live Christ the King!"

Father José Perez had been exercising the sacred ministry in secret as in the days of the Catacombs. On the last day of May, 1928, the village of Cañada de Tirados wished to have Mass; and

Father José complied with their wish. After Mass, **José Perez,** some of the villagers, headed by the local leader of **1928** the Agrarian Party, insisted on accompanying the

Father back to his hiding place at Lo de Peña, deep in the dense mountain forests. The party, traveling on horse-back, suddenly came face to face with a large detachment of cavalry. The Agrarian leader turned to flee, but was chased and shot down. The rest, seven in number including Father José who was wearing plain clothes, were made to dismount and their hands were tied behind their backs.

When one of the cavalymen threw away the priest's saddle bag, it burst open revealing the sacred vestments. Fr. José at once admitted that it was his and that he was the priest. The prisoners were then made to go on foot all the way to Salvatierra, where they arrived at six in the evening. At noon a halt had been made at Parimoro; and when Fr. José was left standing in the road, guarded by soldiers, the villagers ventured to bring food and other little tokens to him and his companions. Father José accepted a little bread and water, and the soldiers got the rest. A number of the townsmen, led by the mayor, even pleaded with the commander on behalf of the weary captives, but to no avail.

The following day, Friday, June 1, the prisoners were conveyed to Celaya. And very early the next morning Father José was taken into an automobile and driven out into the country. A few miles out, the party left the road; and throwing a rope around Father José's neck, his executioners dragged him for a while over the ground and then ran him through with their *machetes*.

This time, they thought, the body would not be found and there would be no demonstrations. But it was found and taken from village to village back to Salvatierra, where it showed as yet no signs of corruption though the murder had been perpetrated at least twenty-four hours before. When the remains of the martyr

were taken to the cemetery for burial, the route of the procession was strewn with flowers, and continued shouts were heard of "Long live Christ the King!"¹¹⁶

CENTRAL AMERICA

Of the Central American countries south of Mexico, two, namely Honduras and Costa Rica, have their Franciscan martyrs. It is appropriate also that we mention here the death of two other Franciscans (not counted among the martyrs) who accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Honduras in 1524. They were Fr. Juan de Tecto (Dekkers, Couvreur) and Fr. Juan de Ayora (Aora, Van der Auwera), who with Brother Pedro de Muro (de Muer or Ghent) were the first missionaries to the newly conquered Aztecs. The former, who had been Guardian of the friary at Ghent and confessor to the Emperor, was a learned man and had lectured on theology at the University of Paris for fourteen years. Though Mendieta tells us that Fr. Juan de Ayora died at Texcoco (Tezcuco), Brother Pedro says expressly in two different letters that both missionaries perished from the hardships of the journey on their way to Honduras.¹¹⁷

HONDURAS

The martyrs of Honduras were all members of the Franciscan Province of Guatemala. After the Xicaques in Honduras had stubbornly withstood the missionary efforts of the Fathers of this Province for some time, they finally allowed them to found some missions in their midst. Soon after, however, in 1612, they murdered the two missionaries, Fr. Estevan Bertelete and Fr. Juan de Monteagudo. About a decade later, 1623, the same Indians killed three more missionaries, Fr. Cristóbal Martínez Puerta, Fr. Benito López, and Brother Juan de Baena.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ "Mexico's Martyrs," *Franciscan Herald*, XXI (1933), 47-48 and 63-64, which is based on the account given in the official organ of the Franciscans, *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*. Mentioned with the above is also a secular Franciscan Tertiary, Anacleto Gonzalez Flores, thirty-six years old, who became a martyr on the First Friday in April, 1927.

¹¹⁷ Mendieta, pp. 187, 268, 605, 607; Torquemada, pp. 25, 153, 154, 254, 424-426; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 200; the writer's articles mentioned in note 91.

¹¹⁸ Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

COSTA RICA

As early as 1627 the Indians of the Talamanca mountains killed a member of the Franciscan Province of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Fr. Rodrigo Perez. Another missionary, Fr. Juan de Ortega, had been wounded by the same Indians already in 1610.¹¹⁹

Venerable Fr. Antonio Margil began to work among these Indians in 1688 and there established the first independent mission district of the college of Querétaro. By 1706 about 80,000 Indians had been baptized; but on September 17, 1709, two of the missionaries, Fr. Pablo de Rebullida and Fr. Juan Antonio de Zamora, companions of Fr. Margil, were murdered by rebellious Indians. During the twelve years that he spent in these parts, Fr. Pablo had succeeded in mastering all the languages of the local tribes. Like Ven. Fr. Margil, he longed for the martyr's crown; to him it was granted, but to the former it was denied though he braved numerous perils. In September, 1709, Fr. Pablo was visiting Fr. Juan among the Urinâmas, when some Christian Indians brought news of an uprising and conspiracy of Indians who were bent on murdering the priests. By the reception of the sacraments, prayer, and acts of penance, the Fathers prepared themselves for death; and calmly, even cheerfully, awaited their murderers. The latter arrived on the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, September 17, and put the missionaries to death in barbarous fashion.¹²⁰

CONCLUSION

This paper is merely a sketch. Even so the writer has found it necessary to revise it again and again to put it into its present form; and he will be grateful for any corrections that may be called to his attention. As has been mentioned in the beginning, the writer expects to present a fuller treatment of the subject in the near future.

Such as it is, however, this recital has, I think, made it clear to us that we Franciscans must take an interest in the story of our

¹¹⁹ Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

¹²⁰ Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica*, Book V, Chapters I-V, on the work among the Talamanca Indians, and Chapters XXXVIII-LI, a biography of Fr. Pablo Rebullida; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

martyrs, and endeavor to interest others as well—particularly in the story of our sixty-nine martyrs of the United States. Of this number the cause of beatification has been introduced for only one, the latest one, Fr. Leo Heinrichs; we must do all we can to launch and sustain a movement for the beatification and canonization of our martyrs.

At the National Congress of the Third Order held in San Francisco five years ago the following resolution was passed: "The Third Order of St. Francis glories in the record of its seventy-two (*sic*) friar martyrs who shed their blood for Christ on American soil. It recommends that the work of gathering material pertaining to their lives and deeds be begun at once, and that the cause of their beatification be promoted."¹²¹ The present paper is to a certain extent a result of this resolution, inasmuch as the writer was encouraged in his work by the National Secretary of the Third Order.

Only a beginning has been made. There will be need of the coöperation of many hearts and minds. This meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, for instance, could send a petition on behalf of the beatification of our martyrs to the Postulator General of the Friars Minor in Rome; it could recommend this matter to the prayerful and active interest of the Catholics in this country by a special resolution; it could take the initial step toward a definite program promoting the cause of our martyrs.

It would be futile, however, to seek the beatification of all our martyrs at one and the same time. Certain groups of martyrs should be selected and suggested for the honors of the altar; and in the case of some martyrs their causes should be promoted individually. Examples of groups are Fr. **Selection to Be Made** Juan Bernal and his twenty companions in New Mexico and Arizona, 1680; Fr. Francisco de Jesus Maria Casañas, protomartyr of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide among the Friars Minor, and his four companions in New Mexico, 1696; Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés and his three companions in California, 1781; Fr. Pedro de Corpa and his four companions in Georgia, 1597; Fr. Juan de Parga and his

¹²¹ M. Poppy, O.F.M., and P. R. Martin, *Survey of a Decade, The Third Order Secular of St. Francis in the United States* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1935), p. 591.

three companions in Florida, 1704. Some martyrs whose cause will be served best if they are taken singly are: Fr. Juan Padilla, protomartyr of the United States, in Texas, 1542; Fr. Francisco Porras in Arizona, 1633; Fr. Andrés Quintana in California, 1812; Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal in Texas, 1752; Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon in Texas, 1834; etc.

If such a movement is set on foot and if such steps are taken, the story of our martyrs will be made known to the Catholics and many non-Catholics of our country and of the world; and I am

confident that much good will result, even if all

Action of This these martyrs are not raised to the honors of the
Conference altar. But I cherish the fond hope, and so do

many others I am sure, that not a few of the

groups and individuals among our martyrs will one day be canonized saints of the United States.

(Suggestions mentioned in the conclusion were acted upon as follows: (1) a petition was sent to the Franciscan Procurator General in Rome; (2) one of the resolutions adopted deals with our martyrs; (3) the writer of this paper was commissioned to write to the Franciscan Ministers Provincial in whose territory the martyrs died, asking that their respective Provinces promote in a special way the martyrs of their territory.)

In the hope that States and Provinces will take a particular interest in the martyrs who shed their blood within their confines, we append a list of the Franciscan martyrs of North America in which the arrangement is based on these political divisions of territory; and in New Mexico, there is a further arrangement according to pueblos in which the martyrs died. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of martyrs in the various localities.

FRANCISCAN MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA (115)

A. UNITED STATES (69 in 10 States):

I. CALIFORNIA (6):

1. Fr. Luis Jayme Mission San Diego 1775
2. Fr. Francisco H. Garcés M. La Purisima Concepcion 1781
3. Fr. Juan A. Barreneche M. La Purisima Concepcion 1781
4. Fr. Juan M. Diaz M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo 1781
5. Fr. José M. Moreno M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo 1781
6. Fr. Andrés Quintana Mission Santa Cruz 1812

II. ARIZONA (6):

1. Fr. Martin de Arvide.....	Near Zipias Indians.....	1632
2. Fr. Francisco Porras.....	Awatobi	1633
3. Fr. José de Figueroa.....	Awatobi	1680
4. Fr. José de Espeleta.....	Oraibi	1680
5. Fr. Agustin de S. Maria.....	Oraibi	1680
6. Fr. José de Trujillo.....	Shongopovi	1680

III. NEW MEXICO (31):

a. Taos:		
1. Fr. Pedro de Miranda		1631
2. Fr. Antonio de Mora.....		1680
3. Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa.....		1680
b. Picuris:		
4. Fr. Matias Rendón.....		1680
c. Nambé:		
5. Fr. Tomás de Torres.....		1680
d. San Cristóbal:		
6. Fr. José de Arbizu.....		1696
7. Fr. Antonio Carbonel		1696
e. Tesuque:		
8. Fr. Juan Bautista Pio		1680
f. Pecos:		
9. Bro. Luis de Escalona.....		1544
g. Galisteo:		
10. Fr. Juan Bernal.....		1680
11. Fr. Domingo de Vera.....		1680
12. Fr. Fernando de Velasco		1680
13. Fr. Manuel Tinoco.....		1680
h. San Ildefonso:		
14. Fr. Luis de Morales.....		1680
15. Bro. Antonio Sanchez de Pro.....		1680
16. Fr. Francisco Corvera.....		1696
17. Fr. Antonio Moreno.....		1696
i. Santo Domingo:		
18. Fr. Francisco A. de Lorenzana.....		1680
19. Fr. Juan de Talabán.....		1680
20. Fr. José de Montesdoca.....		1680
j. Chilili:		
21. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria.....		1581
k. Puaray:		
22. Fr. Francisco Lopez.....		1582
23. Bro. Agustin Rodriguez.....		1582
l. Jemez:		
24. Fr. Juan de Jesús.....		1680
25. Fr. Francisco de J. M. Casañas.....		1696

m. Acoma:

26. Fr. Lucas Maldonado.....1680

n. Hawikuh:

27. Fr. Francisco Letrado.....1632

28. Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala.....1672

o. Halona:

29. Fr. Juan del Val.....1680

p. Senecú:

30. Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila.....1675

q. Soledad:

31. Fr. Manuel Beltran.....1684

IV. TEXAS (9):

1. Fr. Juan de Padilla.....Near Quivira (Canadian R.)...1542

2. Fr. Zénobe Membré.....Fort St. Louis (Garcitas R.)...1689

3. Fr. Maxim Le Clercq.....Fort St. Louis (Garcitas R.)...1689

4. Bro. José Pita.....Carnizeria (near Rockdale)...1721

5. Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva.....Near Presidio del R. Grande...1750

6. Fr. José F. Ganzábal.....Mission La Candelaria.....1752

7. Fr. Alonso Giraldo de Terreros.....M. S. Sabá (San Xavier R.)...1758

8. Fr. José Santiesteban.....M. S. Sabá (San Xavier R.)...1758

9. Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon.....San Augustine.....1834

V. FLORIDA (8):

1. 2. 3. Three unnamed Franciscans.....1647

4. Fr. Luis Sanchez.....Tororo (Jororo)...1697

5. Fr. Juan de Parga.....M. La Concepción (Ayubale)...1704

6. Bro. Marcos Delgado.....M. La Concepción (Ayubale)...1704

7. Fr. Angel Miranda.....M. La Concepción (Ayubale)...1704

8. Fr. Manuel de Mendoza.....M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo (Patali)...1704

VI. GEORGIA (5):

1. Fr. Pedro de Corpa.....Tolomato (opposite Zapala Is.)...1597

2. Fr. Blas de Rodriguez.....Tupique (north of Tolomato)..1597

3. Fr. Miguel de Auñón.....Guale (St. Catherines Is.)...1597

4. Bro. Antonio de Badajoz.....Guale (St. Catherines Is.)...1597

5. Fr. Francisco Verascola.....Asao (St. Simon Island)...1597

VII. MICHIGAN (1):

Fr. Nicholas B. C. Delhalle...Detroit1706

VIII. ILLINOIS (1):

Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde....Seneca1680

IX. NEBRASKA (1):

Fr. Pedro Minguez.....Near Columbus1720

X. COLORADO (1):

Fr. Leo Heinrichs.....Denver1908

B. CANADA (2):

Fr. Nicolas Viel.....	Sault au Récollet.....	1623
Fr. Leonard of Chartres (Capuchin)		
	Port Royal (Annapolis) ..	1654 or 1655

C. MEXICO (36):

I. JALISCO (6):

1. Bro. Juan Calero.....	Near Tequila.....	1541
2. Fr. Antonio de Cuellar.....	Near Etzatlan	1541
3. Fr. Francisco Lorenzo.....	Near Etzatlan	1560
4. Brother Juan.....	Near Etzatlan	1560
5. Fr. Andrés de Ayala.....	Guainamota	1585
6. Fr. Francisco Gil.....	Guainamota	1585

II. ZACATECAS (2):

1. Fr. Juan Serrato.....	Atotonilco	1580
2. Fr. Luis de Villalobos.....	Near Colotlán.....	1582

III. DURANGO (10):

1. Fr. Bernardo Cossin	Sierra	1564
2. An old Franciscan	Topia	1564
3. A young Franciscan.....	Topia	1564
4. Fr. Juan de Tapia.....	Tapias	post 1564
5. Brother Lucas.....	Tapias	post 1564
6. Fr. Andrés de la Puebla.....	Near Topia	1586
7. Fr. Pedro Gutiérrez.....	Atotonilco	1616
8. Fr. Estevan Benítez	Near San Juan del Rio.....	1686
9. Fr. Ramiro Alvarez.....	Milpillas	1704
10. Fr. Diego Hevia.....	Milpillas	1704

IV. SINALOA (4):

1. Fr. Pablo de Acevedo.....		1567
2. Bro. Juan de Herrera.....		1567
3. An unnamed Franciscan.....		1567
4. An unnamed Franciscan.....		1567

V. SONORA (2):

1. Fr. Juan C. Gil de Bernave... Carrizal	1773
2. Fr. Felipe Guillen	Sta. Teresa-Ati
	1778

VI. CHIHUAHUA (2):

1. Fr. Tomás Zigarrán.....	San Francisco de los Conchos..	1645
2. Fr. Francisco Labado	San Francisco de los Conchos..	1645

VII. COAHUILA (1):

1. An unnamed Franciscan. Punta de S. Elena, on way to Saltillo..	1568
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VIII. NUEVO LEON (1):

1. Fr. Martín de Altamirano....	Near Monterrey.....	1606
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IX. SAN LUIS POTOSI (1):

1. Fr. Juan del Rio.....Charcas1586

X. GUANAJUATO (1):

1. Fr. José Perez.....Celaya1928

XI. MICHOACAN (4):

1. Fr. Francisco Donzel.....Mexico to Michoacan.....1567
 2. Fr. Pedro de Burgos.....Mexico to Michoacan.....1567
 3. Fr. Junipero de la Vega.....Ecuandureo1928
 4. Bro. Humilde Martinez.....Zamora1928

XII. YUCATAN (2):

1. Fr. Diego Delgado.....Itza Indians.....1624
 2. Bro. Juan Henriquez.....Itza Indians.....1624

D. CENTRAL AMERICA (8):

I. HONDURAS (5):

1. Fr. Estevan Bertelete.....1612
 2. Fr. Juan de Monteagudo.....1612
 3. Fr. Cristóbal Martínez Puerta.....1623
 4. Fr. Benito Lopez.....1623
 5. Bro. Juan de Baena.....1623

II. COSTA RICA (3):

1. Fr. Rodrigo Perez.....Talamanca Mts.....1627
 2. Fr. Pablo de Rebullida.....Talamanca Mts.....1709
 3. Fr. Juan A. de Zamora.....Talamanca Mts.....1709

Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus!

COPY OF PETITION SENT TO THE VERY REVEREND POSTULATOR
 GENERAL OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ROME

Datum S. Barbarae, die 4 Augusti, 1936.

Admum Revde Pater:

Infrascripti sodales Conferentiae Educationalis Franciscanae, in Collegio ad S. Antonium apud civitatem S. Barbarae in California pro congressu decimo octavo coadunatae, Paternitati Vestrae omni qua par est reverentia quae sequuntur exponunt.

Quum praedicti Patres Lectores pro themate huius congressus elegerint Historiam Franciscanam totius Americae Septentrionalis, et quum Martyrologium Franciscanum Americanum magnam nostrarum deliberationum insumpserit partem, omnibus patuit necessitas simulac obligatio promovendi pro viribus causas eorum qui vel sanguinem pro Christo fuderint vel sancta vita has regiones illustrarint.

Hisce litteris adjunguntur tabulae illorum virorum quorum vita, acta, pia in Domino mors solidis historicis argumentis fundantur, et documentis firmantur.

Quapropter enixe rogamus Paternitatem Vestram ut et consilio prudenti et auxilio opportuno promoveas commune nostrum votum, scilicet, ut tandem aliquando unus saltem vel alter ex magna illa turba honore altarium decoretur, ad gloriam Dei et Ordinis Seraphici honorem.

Signant humiles in Domino confratres:

Signatures of fifty-one friars.

Al Molto Revdo. P. A. Santarelli, Postulatore Generale,
Athenaeum Antonianum,
Via Merulana, 124, Roma, 24, Italia.

DISCUSSION

FR. JOSEPH THOMPSON, O.F.M.:—Fr. Marion has made a thorough study of his subject. But he has given us only a part of it and we shall look forward enthusiastically for the complete history of the Franciscan Martyrs.

Other Martyrs

His paper is statistical, giving name, place and manner of death. He has stressed the canonical requirements for martyrdom, but, Thanks to God, we feel sure there are hundreds of our brethren enjoying the Beatific Vision although their names will never appear on the *canonical* list of martyrs. Two such friars, in my opinion, are Frs. Juan de Tecto and Juan de Aora whom I mention in my paper. Fr. Marion made mention of boy-martyrs, naming Cristobal who was murdered by his own parent. There are two others, Antonio and Juan who had been entrusted by Fr. Martín de Valencia, a Franciscan, to Fr. Bernardino Minaya, a Dominican.

In our Province we read the names of the missionaries who died performing their duties here in California. May I suggest that the other provinces include in their necrologies the names of those who died in their respective territories, especially those who were murdered. I was much impressed by the vivid description of the death of Fr. José Perez, shot to death in Mexico, while on an errand of his sacerdotal ministry. He is naturally dear to us, since he was a cleric at the Old Mission. Surely, he is a patron for the clericate.

A Suggestion

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE II AND III ORDERS OF ST. FRANCIS IN NORTH AMERICA

Fr. MARK NOLAN, O.M.C.

More than seven centuries ago, our holy Father, St. Francis, became the Reformer of his age and of the world at large by demonstrating the truth of the apparent paradox, "Having nothing and possessing all things." Francis gave up everything and found that he gave up nothing. Instead of possessing nothing, he possessed all things. He dethroned the almighty idol mammon and enthroned the Almighty Lady Poverty.

Men had to admit that he was a real reformer, that he practised and proved what he preached with genuine enthusiasm. They understood the sermon of his life and took it to heart. Many, following his example, gave up all their possessions to the poor and followed him. Thus St. Francis founded his First Order of Friars Minor and his Second Order of nuns called Poor Clares.

In his wisdom and prudence, St. Francis took into account the millions of people of all times, who would of necessity live in the world. He established for them his Third Order, to enable them to share in the benefits of the religious life without severing their necessary connection with the world. In the course of time some Tertiaries began to live together in community and to take the three vows of religion. These constitute what is known as the Third Order Regular.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a brief survey of the origin, purpose and numerical strength of the Communities of the Second Order of St. Francis or Poor Clares and of the Third Order, Regular and Secular in North America.

PART I

THE POOR CLARES

Monastery of St. Clare, Omaha, Nebraska

Leaving Rome after receiving the blessing of the Pope, Cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, Mother Maddalena and

her sister, Sister Constance came to America on October 12, 1875, only to be pushed from pillar to post. In New York they fared no better than the poor human flotsam of that City, where they could not make a foundation; going from the Franciscan Sisters at Spring Street, then to the Grey Sisters at Peekskill, then to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville.

Cardinal McCloskey was unable to take them in; Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, likewise refused them permission; Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia at first gave them a house, and after a stay of twenty days, they were obliged to move. Archbishop Perche invited them to settle in New Orleans; but after a short stay here, the Provincial of the German Franciscans of St. Louis, commanded them to settle at Cleveland because he was bringing a band of Colletine Sisters from Germany to make a foundation there.

Mother Constance went West and met the famous John Creighton at Omaha. After many trials and hardships the Sisters finally secured their monastery in June, 1881; and in July 1882, the strict enclosure was set up. At present, there are 21 Professed Sisters, 7 Novices and 1 Postulant.

*St. Clare's Monastery of the Blessed Sacrament, New Orleans,
Louisiana*

In 1885, the Poor Clares from Omaha, were able to renew the foundation in New Orleans. It was here that the Poor Clares of France had attempted to establish a House in the 18th Century, but their efforts had failed.

This Monastery, the second to be founded by Mother Maddalena, now counts 14 Professed Cloistered Sisters and 5 Professed Extern Sisters.

Monastery of St. Clare, Evansville, Indiana

This Community was founded on January 14, 1897, from the Cradle of the Order at Omaha; receiving Canonical Enclosure on November 20, 1897. This was the third foundation of Mother Maddalena Bentivoglio, and of all three, this was the poorest.

The people did not understand the strict life of these nuns and some were afraid of them. After gradually overcoming the many difficulties, hunger among others, new members were admitted and little by little the Community grew.

On August 18, 1905, death came to the Mother Foundress in this Monastery. The noble career of this remarkable woman can only be likened to that of the martyrs of the early Church. Like our holy Father Francis, she was a wanderer on this earth; she turned trials and tribulations into joy; and as Francis died on the ground, Mother Bentivoglio did in like manner on a bed of straw. She is buried in the vault under the monastery choir.

In 1928, Fr. Antonio Santarelli, O.F.M., appointed a Vice-postulator to conduct the Cause of Mother Maddalena, which is now pending in Rome.

In 1912, the Sisters celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their coming to Evansville. At present, they number 29 Professed Choir Nuns, 2 Professed Choir Novices, 5 Choir Novices, 2 Postulants, 7 Extern Sisters and 1 Extern Novice.

Monastery of St. Clare, Boston, Massachusetts

On her sick-bed Mother M. Maddalena Bentivoglio, received word from Archbishop Williams of Boston, permitting her to make a foundation in that city. This was her fourth, but due to broken health, she was unable to undertake it herself.

The Monastery was founded on June 28, 1904, and has, at present 22 Professed Sisters, 5 Novices, 4 Professed Extern Sisters and 1 Postulant.

Monastery of Poor Clares, Bordentown, New Jersey

This Monastery was founded by Mother M. Charitas Burns in November, 1909, from the Evansville Monastery.

There are 19 Professed Sisters, 1 Postulant and 5 Professed Extern Sisters.

Monastery of Poor Clares, New York City, New York

This Community was founded in 1915 by the Monastery at Omaha. Their first home was at 865 Riverside Drive, but later they moved to their present Monastery at Throggs Neck in New York City, which His Eminence Cardinal Hayes dedicated on May 4, 1933.

They number 17 Professed Sisters, 1 Novice and 2 Postulants.

St. Clare's Monastery, Sauk Rapids, Minnesota

On June 13, 1918, Mother M. Angela O'Connor and three Sisters left Victoria, British Columbia, to found a Monastery at Holy Cross, Wisconsin, in the Diocese of Superior, receiving the consent of Bishop Koudelka. Upon his death, June 24, 1921, his successor decided that the Superior Diocese was too poor to support a Mendicant Community like the Poor Clares.

Then Bishop Busch of St. Cloud, appealed to by Mother M. Angela, granted her permission to found a Monastery in his diocese May 3, 1923. The building was begun at once and was completed in 1924. On November 29, 1926, the Foundation was canonically erected by Bishop Busch with the necessary authorization from the Holy See, establishing the Monastery as of Diocesan right, subject to the Bishop of St. Cloud.

There are 14 Professed Sisters and 1 Novice.

Monastery of St. Clare, Memphis, Tennessee

In 1932, through the zealous efforts of Bishop Smith of Nashville, Tennessee, the Poor Clares of the Monastery at Evansville, opened a new foundation at the famous Shrine of the Madonna near Memphis.

Today, there are 7 Professed Sisters, 2 Extern Sisters, 1 Novice and 3 Postulants.

The Monastery of St. Clare, Spokane, Washington

These Nuns came to Spokane on July 22, 1914, from Omaha, Nebr. A large monastery was built on Mission Avenue, being dedicated July 7, 1916. A few years later, the three eldest nuns of the original five cloistered and one extern, returned to Omaha. On account of the heavy debt, they sold this monastery to the Sisters of Providence.

In 1924, they lived in a private house but on December 8, 1931, the Minister General of the Friars Minor advised them to change the color of their habit from grey to brown in accordance with their rule which was approved March 12, 1930.

In this monastery, there are 12 Professed Sisters, and 2 Postulants.

Monastery of St. Clare, Philadelphia, Pa.

In 1916, with the approval of Archbishop Prendergast, two Sisters established themselves in Philadelphia, coming from the Poor Clare monastery at Boston. Soon they were joined by other Sisters from Boston. On October 4, 1916, Most Rev. John J. McCort dedicated the Convent. The Community increased and the present chapel was built; the cornerstone being laid by Cardinal Dougherty on September 31, 1919.

In these few years at Philadelphia, the Community can count 23 Professed Cloistered Sisters and 3 Professed Extern Sisters.

St. Clare's Monastery Victoria, British Columbia

This Monastery was founded July 2, 1912 by five nuns who came from the Monastery of St. Clare of New Orleans. It was canonically erected by a Rescript from Rome on December 21, 1912.

Since its establishment in Victoria, it has founded two houses in the United States; and at present, has 16 Professed Nuns.

The Sisters have Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament every day for one or more hours, according to the feast; but are looking forward when they will have enough Sisters to warrant having Perpetual Exposition.

Monastery of the Poor Clares, Cleveland, Ohio

In December, 1877, a little band of five Sisters came to Cleveland at the request of Bishop Gilmour and Fr. Gregory Janknecht, O.F.M. In this little Community, the Rev. Mother Mary Veronica, one of the original members was appointed Abbess of the first Poor Clare Colettine Community in America.

The beginning of this little foundation was very difficult; the foreign language with which the nuns were unacquainted, the severe climate, the extreme poverty together with the fact that their manner of living was not understood by the people among whom they had come to settle; all contributed to make the austerities of the Rule felt in a more than ordinary degree. Gradually, these troubles and worries decreased to such an extent, that new members joined making the nucleus for the founding of four other monasteries.

In this the original monastery with Perpetual Adoration, are 31 Professed Sisters; 2 Novices and 5 Postulants.

Monastery of the Poor Clares, Chicago, Illinois

Mother Veronica and six Sisters from the Cleveland Monastery went to Chicago at the invitation of Archbishop Feehan in 1893. The First Holy Mass was said in the temporary chapel on April 29, 1893; and through the generosity of the Catholics of Chicago, the monastery and chapel were completed in 1899.

In 1912, Archbishop Quigley granted them the privilege of public Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for all the Sundays of that year in commemoration of the seventh centenary of the foundation of the Poor Clares. Ground was broken for a new chapel on August 12, 1917; the cornerstone was laid on October 14, 1917; finally it was completed in 1919 when Cardinal Mundelein dedicated the Chapel and solemnly inaugurated the Perpetual Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Soon after this, a Society of Perpetual Adoration was formed; and in 1924 the Cardinal revived the society under the name "Guild of Perpetual Adoration," which today counts several thousands of men, women and children who promise to spend an hour of adoration in the chapel, once a day, once a week or once a month.

There are 35 Professed Cloistered Sisters; 1 Novice and 9 Professed Extern Sisters.

Corpus Christi Monastery, Rockford, Illinois

This Community owes its inception to Bishop Muldoon who, in 1916, requested that three Professed Sisters, a Novice and a Postulant should come from Cleveland to form the nucleus of the new foundation. At first they were located at North Avon Street; but in 1921, the Bishop acquired a piece of property along the Rock River. In 1926 a new larger chapel was dedicated and in 1934, a larger residence on another part of the ground was moved to an advantageous position and remodelled for use of the Extern Sisters.

At present, there are 13 Professed Sisters; 1 Novice; 3 Postulants; 3 Extern Sisters and 1 Novice (Extern).

*St. Joseph's Monastery of the Poor Clares,
Oakland, California*

In 1921 the Very Rev. Fr. Hugolinus Storff, O.F.M., in compliance with the desire of Archbishop Hanna, brought a com-

munity to Oakland from Cleveland with the permission of Bishop Farrelly of Cleveland, Ohio.

This Monastery has Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament day and night in the chapel. Moreover, the Poor Clares in this Monastery have taken upon themselves a special obligation to help the dying Sinners. Their Chapel of Perpetual Adoration is the meeting place of the Little Company of St. Joseph for the Dying.

Composing this Community are 15 Professed Cloistered Sisters; 1 Novice; 1 Postulant and 4 Professed Extern Sisters.

Monastery of Poor Clares, Santa Barbara, California

As a gratifying number of Postulants entered the Monastery at Oakland almost immediately, it was possible to found another Community, at Santa Barbara on August 12, 1928. Mother M. Teresa, the present incumbent was the foundress and first Abbess.

In this Community, there are 8 Professed Cloistered Sisters; 1 Novice; 4 Postulants; 2 Professed Extern Sisters; 1 Novice and 1 Postulant.

PART II

THE THIRD ORDER REGULAR OF ST. FRANCIS

This Congregation originated in Italy and was known in the Middle Ages as the Congregation of Lombardy. There is no one man who can be called the Founder; but it is the outgrowth of the Third Order which St. Francis founded with the addition of Solemn Vows and Special Constitutions. There were many of these individual communities in Italy but they were united into one Congregation in 1447 and elected their own Minister General; the present being the 101st. General of the Order. Of all the Tertiaries living in Community under vows, they alone take Solemn Vows.

The Third Order Regular was introduced into the United States in 1907. Before this time, there were communities of Brothers of the Third Order Rule in this country; namely, in Loretto, Pa., in Brooklyn, N. Y., in Spalding, Nebraska, and in Cincinnati, Ohio. All these were lay-brothers, and the three first Communities were only diocesan in their nature, subject to the jurisdiction of the local Ordinaries and not yet approved by Rome.

The Brothers of Brooklyn were for years discontented with

their isolation and at various periods made attempts to unite with the first Franciscan Family, but in vain. Some two years prior to 1907 a movement arose in Brooklyn for union with the Third Order Regular under the jurisdiction of its Minister General in Rome. Brother Linus Lynch was then the superior of Brooklyn and did all that he could to forward the cause, but it failed due to the opposition of the Bishop.

In the meantime, the house at Spalding was united to the Third Order Regular in 1907. Hence, the aforesaid Brother Linus and some thirty others in perpetual and temporary vows entered the Order at Spalding. Loretto came into the Union in 1908; and the Third Order Regular in America was erected into a Province in 1910. At present, this Province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, with its Motherhouse at Loretto, Pa., has 34 Fathers; 65 Professed Clerics; 65 Students in Major Seminary; 11 Cleric Novices; 1 Lay Novice; 21 Students in the Preparatory Seminary; 11 Brothers; and is in charge of 3 Parishes, 1 Seminary, 1 College, 2 High Schools, 5 Community Houses, 1 House of Study, 1 Novitiate and 1 Preparatory Seminary.

Besides this Province, there is the Italo-American Province of the Immaculate Conception, founded in 1922, with its Motherhouse at Hollidaysburg, Pa.; having 4 Parishes, 2 Missions and 1 Preparatory School, with 15 Priests and 30 Professed.

Then there is a group of Fathers from the Province of Yugoslavia, having three Parishes in the diocese of Pittsburgh, and some from Spain, having three foundations, two Parishes in Texas for Mexicans with many mission centers in their districts and a Spanish Parish in Newark, N. J.; with a total of 9 Priests and 3 Lay-brothers.

*Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, Graymoor,
Garrison, N. Y.*

It was on the eve of St. Francis' Day, October 3, 1899, that the Rev. Lewis Thomas Wattson, then an Anglican Clergyman arrived at Graymoor, near Garrison, N. Y. His object was to found there the Friars of the Atonement, a Congregation of future Missionary Priests and Brothers. There then followed ten years of very slow growth for the Friars on the Mount of the Atonement. Strange as it may sound, these Friars sent offerings of Peter's Pence twice yearly to Rome and they held and practised

the Catholic Faith, as completely as was possible, while exteriorly separated from the See of Peter. Likewise, they taught others the Old Faith.

On October 30, 1909, these Friars were received into the Catholic Church by Monsignor Conroy (present Bishop of Ogdensburg) acting for Archbishop Farley of New York. At present, there are in this Community; 20 Fathers; 39 Professed Clerics; 7 Lay Professed; 12 Novices; 22 Postulants; 67 Students and 14 Tertiary Brothers. Besides their Motherhouse at Graymoor, they have a House of Studies at Brookland, D. C.; and 2 Parishes in Texas, a Shrine at Smoky Lake, Alberta, Canada, and a Japanese Mission in Vancouver, B. C.

Of the Associate Members of the Institute, there are two powerful organizations; one is the Rosary League of Our Lady of the Atonement, and the other the Union-That-Nothing-Be-Lost (the Society's Missionary Organization). These two Organizations count their numbers by the thousands.

Among the periodicals published by the Graymoor Friars are: *The Lamp*, the organ of missionary activities and of the Union-That-Nothing-Be-Lost and, *The Antidote*, which is to assist in bringing back the "other sheep" to the Fold of Peter.

Franciscan Brothers of Brooklyn, N. Y.

In response to Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn, Brothers John McMahon and Vincent Hayes, left the Irish Congregation of Brothers in Ireland and came to Brooklyn on May 31, 1858, to begin the present foundation of the Brooklyn Brothers.

For a few months they made their home with the Christian Brothers on Jay Street. In the Fall of 1858 they secured the house on Baltic Street, and remained there until 1860 when they purchased an old house on Butler Street.

In September, 1869, the faculty, consisting of two Brothers and three teachers, opened the primitive school on Baltic Street for registration. In a short time, they converted the building into a residence, novitiate and school, from which evolved the present St. Francis College. In 1868, when the Congregation was incorporated, the Brothers had established seven parochial schools.

In 1880, St. Leonard's Academy was opened and today, it is one of the foremost commercial schools in the entire city of Brooklyn. In 1888, the present Camp Alvernia, the first of its kind to ap-

pear on Long Island, was started; and today, is used as a Catholic camp for boys.

At present there are 81 Professed Brothers, 14 Novices and 28 Postulants and Juniorates; in charge of 1 College, 2 High Schools, 7 Parochial Schools, 1 Day Juniorate and 1 Novitiate.

*Franciscan Missionary Brothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus,
Eureka, Mo.*

This Community, consisting of Brothers only, follows the Rule of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, having for its principal end, the care of institutions for the Aged, Infirm and Incurables; and also the care of Orphans and schools for boys.

It was founded in 1934 at which time, this house separated from the Order of the Missionary Brothers of St. Francis whose Motherhouse is in Poland. At present there are 12 Brothers; 1 Novice and 2 Postulants; with a Novitiate and a Home for Aged and Chronic Incurables in Eureka, Archdiocese of St. Louis, Mo.

PART III

THE SISTERHOODS

*Congregation of the Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis,
St. Francis, Wisconsin*

This Community was founded in 1849 and had its rule compiled in 1852 by Rev. Michael Heiss and approved by Bishop Henni. The special aim of this Congregation is to assist in the education of Catholic youth in schools and orphanages, and to take charge of the deaf, the feeble-minded, and to engage in other works of charity.

In 1904, they founded St. Colletta's Institute for Backward Youth (the only Catholic School of its kind in the Northwest at the time), at Jefferson, Wisconsin. The Congregation was approved by the Holy See, December 6, 1911; received the Decree of Praise and the definite Papal approbation of the Institute on March 2, 1924 and final approbation, July 3, 1934.

At present, the Community whose Motherhouse and Novitiate are at St. Francis, Wisconsin, numbers 658 Professed Sisters; 38 Novices; 37 Postulants; in charge of 1 College and Normal

School, 1 Academy, 4 High Schools, 54 Grammar Schools, 1 Orphanage, 1 School for Deaf, 1 School for Underprivileged Children and a Normal School for native girls in Tsinanfu, China.

Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of the Perpetual Adoration, La Crosse, Wisconsin

Six Tertiaries from Kaufbeuern, Bavaria came to Milwaukee in April, 1849; and at the direction of Bishop Henni settled at Nejosching where they took charge of the domestic department of the newly-founded Seminary of St. Francis. Their first mother-house was at Jefferson. In 1868, it was transferred to La Crosse where the cornerstone was laid August 21, 1870.

In 1928 a foreign mission was undertaken in China, where they have opened a school for boys and girls, a catechumenate and a dispensary. These Sisters are in charge of 1 Normal School, 1 Academy, 26 High Schools, 90 Grammar Schools, 3 Hospitals, 2 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Orphanage, 1 Home for Aged and 1 Foreign Mission. The Community numbers 838 Professed Sisters; 73 Novices and 79 Novices and 79 Postulants.

Sisters of the III Order Regular of St. Francis, Oldenburg, Indiana

A certain Rev. Francis Joseph Rudolf together with Sister Teresa, who came from the Franciscan Convent in Vienna, Austria, on January 6, 1851, began this Community at Oldenburg, Indiana. The Sisters built their new Convent on October 31, 1851 with poverty engulfing them. In May, 1854, they opened their first mission at Dover; and several others in a short space of time. From 1866 to 1872, they assumed charge of schools in Kentucky, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri. In 1893, the Community was affiliated with the Franciscan Order and six years later, received final approbation of the Holy See.

Besides educating youth, they have charge of a mission among the Crow Indians in Montana and three missions in New Mexico for Mexicans as well as one for colored children in Kansas City. At present, there are 780 Professed Sisters; 29 Novices; 10 Postulants; with 1 Junior College, 1 Normal School, 2 Academies, 6 High Schools, 86 Grammar Schools, 1 Orphanage and 1 Crow Indian Mission.

Sisters of St. Francis, Philadelphia Foundation

It was on April 9, 1855 that a widow of Philadelphia, Mrs. Bachmann, with the coöperation of Bishop Neumann and Fr. Hespelien, C.S.S.R., began the Community that was to extend over the length and breadth of the U. S. A. and even into Ireland. In 1857 they were placed under the spiritual guidance of Fr. Bonaventure Keller, O.M.C. Between the years 1860 and 1870, the Community established eight new foundations in the dioceses of Philadelphia, Newark, Harrisburg and Wilmington. Their Rule received Papal Approbation on July 7, 1907.

In the eighty years of its existence, the Community has grown to such an extent that it is divided into three Provinces, Eastern, Western and Southern, counting 1333 Professed Sisters; 107 Novices; 20 Postulants; having charge of 72 Parochial Schools, 7 Orphan Asylums, 27 Commercial and High Schools, 6 Academies and Boarding Schools, 13 Hospitals, 2 Homes for the Aged, 5 Indian Missions, 3 Colored Missions, 1 Day Nursery, 1 Home for Working Girls, 1 Domestic Department (College) and 1 House of Studies. Motherhouse at Glen Riddle (La Verna Heights), Pennsylvania.

*Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Hartwell,
Cincinnati, Ohio*

This Congregation was founded by Mother Francis Schervier at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), Germany on October 3, 1845, and first came to America in 1858, where they took over an abandoned Orphanage in Cincinnati, Ohio. On Christmas Day, 1859, their newly built St. Mary's Hospital was dedicated; two years later, they opened St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Covington, Kentucky. In the same year, 1861, their original benefactress, Mrs. Sarah Peter, gave her own residence in Cincinnati for their first Convent in America; and it was used as a Motherhouse until 1896, when they built their present one, at Hartwell, Cincinnati.

These Sisters are known for their Nursing and also for their homes for Aged and Working Girls. At present, there are 635 Professed Sisters; 24 Novices; 11 Postulants; with 17 Hospitals, 9 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Home for the Aged and 1 Home for Working Girls.

*Sisters of the III Franciscan Order, Minor Conventuals,
Syracuse, N. Y.*

The existence of these Sisters as a distinct Community (separate from the Philadelphia foundation) dates from November, 1860, when Sister Mary Bernadine Dorn became the first Mother Superior of the present Community in Syracuse, N. Y. Their work is diversified: conducting elementary and secondary schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, and Childrens' homes. But their brightest star in their banner is their foreign missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands where they have labored since 1883.

Besides caring for the leper women and girls on Molokai, they rear and educate the non-leprous children of leprous parents in Honolulu where they opened a general Hospital on May 9, 1927; and have several other parochial schools on the Islands. In 1923 they established a Novitiate at Honolulu for young women to devote their lives to missionary work on the Hawaiian Islands.

The Motherhouse of the Community is at Syracuse, N. Y. The Community numbers: 311 Professed Sisters; 26 Novices; 20 Postulants; conducting 2 Normal Schools, 3 Senior High Schools, 3 Junior High Schools, 22 Grammar Schools, 5 Hospitals, 5 Schools of Nursing Education, 1 Children's Home, 2 Homes for the Aged, 1 Home for Leper Women and Girls, 1 Home for Children of Leprous Parents, 1 Hospice for American Tourists in Rome, Italy, and 1 House of Study at the Catholic University of Washington, D. C.

Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Buffalo, New York

Three Sisters came from Philadelphia to Buffalo with the approbation of Bishop Timon of Buffalo, in 1861, through the intervention of Rev. Robert Kleineidan, C.S.S.R. After the death of Mother Frances (Mrs. Bachmann), founder of the Community in Pennsylvania, the Sisters in Buffalo became a diocesan community.

From Buffalo, a number of Sisters were sent to Pittsburgh in 1865; these also became subject to the Bishop of Pittsburgh. In like manner, Sisters were sent from Buffalo to New York City to take charge of an Institution for the Homeless Child, and there became a diocesan organization subject to the Archbishop of New York.

This Community as represented in the diocese of Buffalo con-

sists of 439 Professed Sisters; 39 Novices; 5 Postulants; caring for 4 High Schools, 33 Grammar Schools, 2 Hospitals, 2 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Orphanage and 4 Homes for the Aged.

*Congregation of the III Order of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate,
Joliet, Illinois*

These Sisters were established August 2, 1865, by Sister M. Alfred Moes under the direction of Very Rev. Pamfilo da Magliano, O.F.M., and with the approbation of Bishop Duggan of Chicago. This was the first Community of religious teachers in Joliet, as well as the first Franciscan Sisterhood in Illinois. Besides their own sanctification, their aim is the instruction and Christian education of youth in parochial and higher schools.

In poor missions and country parishes where there are no Catholic schools, the Sisters devote their time to teaching the children their prayers and catechism, and preparing them for the reception of the sacraments.

There are 589 Professed Sisters; 38 Novices; 16 Postulants, teaching and in charge of 1 College, 1 Academy, 14 High Schools, 47 Grammar Schools and 1 Orphanage.

Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of Pittsburgh, Pa.

These Sisters separated from the Buffalo Community November, 1865, when they came to Pittsburgh to take care of St. Francis' Hospital. In 1868, they began their work as teachers at St. Michael's School; and in 1873 erected a Novitiate which became inadequate as the years passed by, so that they purchased property in Millvale, known as "Mt. Alvernia," where they built their present Motherhouse and Novitiate in 1898.

The Community now numbers 441 Professed Sisters; 22 Novices; 17 Postulants; with 27 Parochial Schools, 4 Commercial High Schools, 7 Academic High Schools, 2 Hospitals, 2 Schools of Nursing, 1 Occupational School, 1 Vocational School for Disabled Soldiers, 1 Free Dispensary, 1 Home for Aged Women, 1 Convalescent Home and 3 Catechetical Centers.

*Missionary Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of
Peekskill, N. Y.*

At the close of the Civil War, Fr. Andrew Pfiefer, O.F.M., requested some Missionary Sisters, known as "Gray Nuns," to

come to America to educate needy Catholic youths. The first little band, composed of three Sisters, arrived at New York City and took charge of the school of St. Francis on W. 31st Street on December 11, 1865. During the next few years the Sisters aided the poor and needy; worked among prisoners, preparing them for death; and undertook other good works that they had the opportunity to perform.

On March 27, 1869, they purchased the "Townsend Homestead" in Peekskill, N. Y., which became their Provincial House. They spread rapidly in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania and number among their academies the famous "Ladycliff," situated on the banks of the majestic Hudson River. This remarkable Community counts 398 Professed Sisters; 10 Novices; 10 Postulants; they have charge of 1 College, 1 Academy, 3 High Schools, 25 Grammar Schools, 9 Business and Commercial Schools, 1 Convalescent School, 1 Orphanage, 5 Day Nurseries and 2 Homes for Working Girls.

Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of Tiffin, Ohio

These Sisters are incorporated as "The Citizens Hospital and Orphan Asylum in the State of Ohio" and were founded in Tiffin in 1867, established canonically in 1916. The three original members were a Mrs. Schaefer and her two daughters. The Community became diocesan and the Sisters were gradually recalled from fields of labor outside the diocese. There are: 116 Professed Sisters; 8 Novices; in charge of 13 Parochial Schools, 1 Orphanage, 1 Home for the Aged and 1 Pilgrim House.

Sisters of St. Francis of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Clinton, Iowa

The Abbott of Gethsemane and Bishop Lavialle of Louisville instituted this Community June 19, 1868, at that famous Abbey; but owing to some misunderstandings and hardships, they moved to Iowa, where the Archbishop located them at Anamosa. Here they remained three years, then changed to Clinton, Iowa. They engage in practically every work of charity.

In 1907 these Sisters were affiliated with the Franciscan Order; and in 1921, they received Papal Approval. They have 274 Professed Sisters; 15 Novices; 6 Postulants; with 1 Junior College,

1 Academy, 15 High Schools, 36 Grammar Schools, 3 Hospitals, 2 Nurses' Training Schools and 1 Home for Aged.

Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity, Manitowoc, Wisconsin

Mother Odelia Wahl was the first superior of this Community which was founded in 1869 by Rev. Joseph Fessler. Its main aim is to educate youth in elementary and secondary schools which are located in seven states: Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, West Virginia, Illinois and Arizona, having Mexican and Indian Mission Schools in the latter State. These zealous Sisters number 670 Professed; 46 Novices; 40 Candidates; caring for 12 High Schools, 64 Grammar Schools, 3 Hospitals, 2 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Home for Aged, 1 Conservatory of Music and 1 Boarding School.

Franciscan Sisters, Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, St. Louis, Mo.

At the request of Rev. E. A. Schindel of South St. Louis, three Franciscan Sisters left their Motherhouse in Salskotten, Westphalia, on December 3, 1872, and came to America. They immediately began to construct the hospital of St. Boniface which was finally dedicated September 7, 1873. Eight more Sisters came to St. Louis in 1873 and still another group in 1875. In 1879, the first investiture of Novices took place as well as the building of the Motherhouse.

From now on, the little Community grew by leaps and bounds and at present happily numbers: 439 Professed Sisters; 28 Novices; 8 Postulants; controlling 7 Hospitals, 1 Nurses' Training School, 2 Orphanages and 2 Homes for Working Girls.

Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, Newton, Mass.

Elizabeth Hayes, a convert from the Church of England, established this Congregation in Rome with the approval of Pope Pius IX. Imbued with the Missionary Spirit, she sent her spiritual children to America, in 1873. Their Motherhouse in America is in Newton, Mass., with a branch Novitiate established recently in Montreal.

They are active especially in parochial and boarding schools as well as orphanages. The largest is in the State of Georgia, where

they care for and convert the neglected negro; making an average of one hundred converts each year.

There are 540 Professed Sisters; 50 Novices; 60 Postulants; with 2 Academies, 18 Grammar Schools and 4 Orphanages.

School Sisters of St. Francis of Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The foundresses were Mothers Alexia and Alfons, who came from Germany to Campbellsport, Wisconsin, and started this Community on April 29, 1874. But the Community grew so rapidly that a new Motherhouse was built in April, 1891.

The purpose of the Congregation in the United States is to educate youth in High and Grammar Schools; they also conduct Indian Schools, one at the Chippewa Indian Reservation, Reserve, Wisconsin, and the other at the Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Ashland, Montana.

In 1931, these Sisters erected a modern American School building in Tsingtao, China, and assumed the work of educating Chinese girls in a so-called "middle" school. In 1895, Mother Alexia established a house in Germany, which grew into a province known as Marienheim, Erlenbad, in the Archdiocese of Freiburg. This Province conducts 188 Stations; their principal work being the care of the sick and the orphan, social service activities, home economic classes, the care of homes for students and homes for working girls. In 1933, this German Province accepted two missions in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Central America: one is a Policlinic and the other a Home for neglected children.

The two venerable foundresses can now count 1842 Professed Sisters; 116 Novices; 53 Postulants; in 16 High Schools, 151 Grammar Schools and 2 Sanitariums.

*Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity,
Stella Niagara, N. Y.*

In 1874 these Sisters came from Holland at the invitation of the Jesuit Fathers, and settled at St. Michael's and St. Ann's parochial schools in Buffalo, N. Y. In 1875, they established their Novitiate at St. Joseph's on Ellicott Street and three years later moved it to the Sacred Heart Convent, where it remained until 1908 when it was transferred to the banks of Niagara.

The aim of these Sisters is the education of youth, nursing and all benevolent works of mercy. Although these Sisters had their

first foundation in the United States in 1874, their Province was not founded until 1928. There are 580 Professed Sisters; 21 Novices; 14 Postulants; in charge of 6 Academies, 5 High Schools, 26 Grammar Schools, 4 Hospitals, 4 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Orphanage, 1 Day Nursery, 2 Homes for Working Girls, 1 Infant Asylum, 1 Shrine and 1 Domestic (Seminary).

Felician Sisters (Polish Franciscans of the Third Order)

Five of these Sisters set out from Poland and arrived at Polonia, Wisconsin, November 21, 1874, where they cared for the children of the Sacred Heart Church. Rev. Dombrowski, the pastor at the time and considered the American Founder of the Felician Sisters, assisted them to such an extent that the Community grew and prospered, being today the largest Polish Community in the United States.

The decree of final approbation was granted the Community, March 22, 1907, and again, on December 7, 1920, when the Rule was adapted to the New Code of Canon Law.

The Community is divided into six Provinces with 2845 Professed Sisters; 102 Novices; 101 Postulants; in charge of 2 Normal Schools, 1 Academy, 12 High Schools, 176 Grammar Schools, 8 Orphanages, 1 Day Nursery, 4 Commercial Schools, 1 Home for the Aged and 1 Sanatorium for Sisters. The Motherhouses are at:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Detroit, Mich. | 4. Lodi, N. J. |
| 2. Buffalo, N. Y. | 5. Enfield, Conn. |
| 3. Chicago, Ill. | 6. Coraopolis, Pa. |

*Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of the Holy Family,
Jesus, Mary and Joseph, Dubuque, Iowa*

Mother Mary Xavier Termehr with three other Sisters left Strasbourg, Alsace, and came to Iowa City in 1875. In 1878 they were transferred to Dubuque, where their Motherhouse is now situated. Their activities consist in elementary, secondary and college education, Mission and Hospital Work, Homes for Working Girls and the Care of Orphans and Aged People. In 1933, they assumed control of a school for colored children in Chicago; and recently opened two Mission Schools in China.

This Community received the Decree of Praise in 1914 and

final approbation of Rome in 1925. It numbers 672 Professed Sisters; 44 Novices; 23 Postulants; with 1 College, 1 Normal School, 1 Academy, 29 High Schools, 58 Grammar Schools, 1 Hospital, 1 Nurses' Training School, 2 Orphanages, 1 Home for the Aged, 2 Homes for Working Girls, 34 Vacation Schools, 1 Negro Mission and 2 Missions in China.

*The Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of Peoria,
Illinois*

These Sisters came from Herford in Westphalia and arrived in New York, September 5, 1875. From New York they went to Dubuque. On October 28, 1876, they founded a hospital at Peoria, Ill.; and on July 16, 1877, they became independent of Germany.

In the spirit of charity, these Sisters labor devotedly for the sick, irrespective of creed or color. They now count 348 Professed Sisters; 45 Novices; 15 Postulants; established in 12 Hospitals with 110 Nurses in Training.

Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Illinois

In November, 1875, twenty Hospital Sisters of St. Francis came from Muenster, Germany, and placed themselves at the disposal of Bishop Baltes of Alton, Illinois. Three years later, they built a hospital, called St. John's, at Springfield. In 1887, 1891 and 1902, more wings were added; and in 1907 a new fireproof addition was completed. In 1928, they built a structure for the education department of the school of nursing where the Sisters prepare for their life's work. The main work of these Sisters is nursing, including Homes for children and aged, as well as Sanitariums.

In September, 1925, five Sisters left for Tsinanfu, China to open hospitals and dispensaries; and since that day six of these institutions have been added together with one flood-relief hospital. Caring for these great missionary activities, this Community in America counts: 670 Professed Sisters; 53 Novices; 14 Postulants; with 1 High School for Sisters, 1 Sisters' and Nurses' School of Nursing Education, 2 Homes for the Aged, 1 Home for Working Girls, 2 Sanitariums, and 20 Hospitals and Dispensaries in China.

*The Poor Sisters of St. Francis Seraph of the Perpetual
Adoration, Lafayette, Ind.*

From Olpe, Westphalia, Germany, came Mother Theresia to Lafayette, on December 14, 1875, where she began the erection of the present Motherhouse and the following year St. Elizabeth's Hospital. Besides Nursing, they educate youth. In 1904 they were called upon to labor among the Mexicans and Indians in New Mexico.

On January 31, 1931, the Congregation with its revised Rules and Constitutions was approved by the Holy See; and at the same time the Community in America was divided into two Provinces: the Eastern, with headquarters at Lafayette, and Western, at Denver, Colorado. In the *Eastern Province* are 523 Professed Sisters; 38 Novices; 14 Postulants; with 1 Normal School, 3 High Schools, 25 Grammar Schools, 1 Orphanage, 13 Hospitals, 7 Nurses' Training Schools, 1 Home for the Aged and 1 House of Studies. In the *Western Province* are: 444 Professed Sisters; 20 Novices; 8 Postulants; with 1 College, 7 High Schools, 26 Grammar Schools, 3 Orphanages, 9 Hospitals and 5 Nurses' Training Schools.

*Sisters of St. Francis of the Congregation of Our Lady of
Lourdes, Rochester, Minn.*

This Congregation was founded in Rochester, Minnesota, December 8, 1877, by Mother M. Alfred Moes, who came from the Community of Joliet, Illinois. Together with other Sisters from the same Community, they established the present St. Mary's Academy at Owatonna. In July, 1878, Bishop Grace of St. Paul appointed Sister Alfred first Mother General of her congregation (formed at Rochester). She opened many schools; and in 1889, founded the internationally known St. Mary's Hospital of Rochester, in conjunction with the famous Dr. Mayo.

These Sisters founded the famous College of St. Teresa (at Winona, Minnesota), an institution for the higher education of Catholic Women; accredited by the Association of American Universities, holding membership in the North Central Association of Colleges.

At present there are: 539 Professed Sisters; 31 Novices; 12 Postulants; with 1 College, 1 Academy, 2 Schools of Music, 19 High Schools, 42 Grammar Schools, 3 Hospitals, 2 Nurses' Train-

ing Schools, 1 Home for Aged and 1 Home for Tuberculous Sisters.

Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis of Bay Settlement

Very Rev. Edward Daems founded this Community in 1880. Their Constitutions were approved March 14, 1881, by Rt. Rev. F. X. Krautbauer, Bishop of Green Bay; revised and approved August 15, 1900, by Bishop (later Archbishop) Messmer. Besides their Grammar Schools in Green Bay, they have one for Indians at Neopit, Menominee Indian Reservation. There are: 79 Professed Sisters; 10 Novices; 3 Postulants; in charge of 12 Parochial Schools, 1 Home for the Aged and 1 Home for Crippled Children.

The Franciscan Sisters of Baltimore City

These Sisters, the only ones that devote themselves exclusively to work among negroes, had their beginning at Mill Hill, England; and through the entreaties of Cardinal Gibbons, came to Baltimore, December 5, 1881. A short time later, they established St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Children. In 1902, they took charge of a hospital for lepers in Uganda, British East Africa.

This noble work among the negroes is under the care of 80 Professed Sisters; 18 Novices; 8 Postulants; they conduct 3 High Schools, 5 Grammar Schools and 2 Orphanages.

III Order Sisters of St. Francis of the Immaculate Conception, Peoria, Illinois

Mother M. Pacifica Forrestal founded the Community in 1890, when the late Bishop Spalding gave her charge of the Peoria Diocesan Orphanage then located in Metamora. Later, St. Joseph's Home for the Aged was built in Peoria, and another at Springfield. The Motherhouse is now located in Peoria, Illinois. At present there are: 124 Professed Sisters; 6 Novices; 2 Postulants; and have charge of 1 Orphanage, 2 Homes for Aged, 1 Home for Working Girls, 9 Parochial Schools.

*Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception,
Little Falls, Minnesota*

This Congregation was established in Little Falls, by Mother M. Ignatius Hayes, in 1891, separating from their General

Motherhouse in Rome. They conduct hospitals, homes and orphanages. They teach Christian Doctrine to Children who do not have the advantage of attending a Catholic School.

They aim to make education, especially in parochial schools, one of their principal occupations. At present, they have 221 Professed Sisters; 27 Novices; 5 Postulants; in charge of 1 High School, 6 Hospitals, 1 Nurses' Training School, 1 Orphanage and 2 Homes for Aged.

Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, Providence, Rhode Island

It was at Quebec, Canada, that these Sisters made their first foundation in North America in 1892. This is now the Canadian Novitiate. In 1904, the Sisters opened an orphanage at Woonsocket, and two years later, started a nursery, girls' club, scout work, and district visiting in the heart of New York City.

An American Novitiate was opened at Providence, R. I., in 1929. These Missionaries labor among the heathen in Japan, China, Africa, India, Ceylon and Philippines, and recently in the far north of Iceland.

Their work includes every phase of mission activities, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, catechumenates, nurseries, workrooms, clubs, refuge and leper colonies. There are 540 Professed Sisters; 50 Novices; 60 Postulants; they conduct 2 Academies, 18 Grammar Schools and 4 Orphanages.

*Bernardine Sisters of the III Order of St. Francis (Polish),
Reading, Pa.*

In 1894, Mother Veronica Grzedowska, together with three Bernardine Sisters, set out from Poland, and in that same year, arrived at Mt. Carmel, Pa., in the Diocese of Harrisburg. Here they founded a school for Polish children and the following year, opened another at Reading, Pa., which became their Motherhouse. They received their "Decretum Laudis" in 1933. There are: 586 Professed Sisters; 36 Novices; 27 Postulants; they conduct 2 High Schools, 53 Grammar Schools, and 3 Orphanages.

Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph, Hamburg, N. Y.

The foundation of these Polish Franciscan Sisters dates back to 1896, when its foundress, Sister M. Colette Hilbert, under the auspices of Fr. Hyacinth Fudzinski, O.M.C., with four faithful

followers undertook the care of St. Stanislaus' Parish School in Trenton, N. J. Two years later, at the invitation of Bishop Quigley of Buffalo, they took charge of Corpus Christi School in Buffalo, where they built a Motherhouse and Novitiate.

As the Community grew, they built a larger Motherhouse and Novitiate at Hamburg, N. Y., which was dedicated Nov. 4, 1928.

The obligations proper to this Institute are the religious and intellectual education of youth in schools and the assistance of the sick in hospitals.

There are 439 Professed Sisters; 28 Novices; 17 Postulants; with 25 Parochial Schools, 1 Parochial High School, 1 Academy and 1 Home for the Aged.

Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement, Graymoor, Garrison, N. Y.

This interesting Society was established December 15, 1898, as a religious organization of the Anglican Church, and remained so until the corporate reception of its members into the Catholic Church, October 30, 1909. Their Motherhouse is at Graymoor, on the property adjoining that of the Friars of the Atonement.

By an Indult from Rome of the Most Rev. Minister General of the Friars Minor, dated November 10, 1921, these Sisters are affiliated with the Order of Friars Minor. This Indult is supplemented by their own Constitutions which were approved and granted "Decretum Laudis" by the Holy See on June 13, 1935.

Besides their own sanctification, their Constitutions state that they are to further the reunion of all Christians and to undertake work of a missionary character, especially the teaching of catechism among the poor non-Catholics at home and in the Foreign Mission Field. Also, there are foundations in Northwest Canada for the Japanese and Ukrainians; as well as a beautiful Hospice in Assisi; and a House for the receiving of Postulants in the Diocese of Kilmore, Ireland.

There are 112 Professed Sisters; 9 Novices; 12 Postulants; 2 Oblate Aspirants; 9 Tertiary Sisters; in charge of 1 Grammar School, 4 Kindergartens, 1 Home for Ruthenian Girls, 2 Schools for English for Japanese, 2 Mission Works for Colored, 16 Parish visiting and Settlement Works, 3 Hospices and 1 Retreat House.

Little Franciscan Sisters of Mary, Baie St. Paul, Canada

This Community originated at Worcester, Mass., under the guidance of Rev. Joseph Brouillet, who was touched by the dis-

tress of a large number of children whose salvation was in danger. The group of young women whom the good priest placed in charge of "refuge" became Franciscan Tertiaries, being invested with the habit in September and November, 1899.

In November, 1891, under Rev. Ambrose Fafard, pastor of St. Paul's Bay, Province of Quebec, who founded a Home for the poor and abandoned of his parish, these Sisters came to Canada. Here in St. Paul they established their Motherhouse, retaining their branch house in Worcester, Mass. The Community affiliated to the Franciscan Order on October 7, 1904.

The Institution has for its object the alleviation of human misery and the teaching of youth in schools. These Sisters, in the United States and Canada, number 478 Professed Sisters; 72 Novices; 69 Postulants; in charge of 16 Grammar Schools, 2 Hospitals, 2 Orphanages, 4 Homes for Aged, 1 Day Nursery and 1 Sanitarium.

Franciscan Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, St. Louis, Mo.

The Foundresses of this Community, May 29, 1901, were Mothers Solana, Ernestine and Hilaria. Their main work is the education of youth and also the caring for the domestic departments in colleges and seminaries.

They have charge of 22 Parochial Schools, 4 College-Domestic Departments and 1 Seminary-Domestic Department; numbering 245 Professed Sisters; 12 Novices; 4 Postulants.

Sisters of St. Francis of the Congregation of our Lady of Lourdes, Sylvania, Ohio

This Community separated from that of Rochester, Minn., in 1916. At the time of their founding there were 23 Sisters in three Schools in Ohio. On May 10, 1921, Bishop Heffrom of Winona asked Bishop Schrembs to give autonomy to this "Provincialate" at Sylvania, in the latter's diocese; this request, with its required formalities, was granted through the Rescript from Rome in 1930.

The one school which this Community values above all others is that of San Juan Capistrano, because, of the twenty-one original Franciscan Missions of California, this is the only one at which Franciscan Sisters are stationed since August, 1928. Education of youth is one of their main aims. They hold positions on the faculty of the Toledo Teachers College.

The statistics for the end of 1935 are 260 Professed Sisters; 25 Novices; 15 Postulants; with 23 Grammar-schools, 1 High School, 1 Convent Academy and 8 Hospitals.

The Franciscan Servants of the Holy Infancy of Jesus

This Community was founded on May 27, 1855, by Antonia Werr, assisted by Fr. Francis Ehrenburg, O.M.C., at Wuerzburg, Germany. The objective of this Congregation is two-fold: first, to instruct, train and care for young girls who had wandered from the path of virtue, so that they might once again become good and useful members of society; second, to nurse and care for the sick in the homes of the poor.

On April 9, 1929, the first Sisters came to America, to take up the domestic work in St. Francis College, S. I. More recently, they acquired a Convent in Trenton, N. J., from which the Sisters go out daily to care for the poor sick in their homes, receiving an occasional free-will offering. This Convent is their headquarters in America. At present there are 44 Professed Sisters in nine Convents.

PART IV

THIRD ORDER SECULAR

Concerning this Franciscan body, usually termed Franciscan Tertiaries, but officially designated as The Third Order Secular of St. Francis, much could be written, but as this paper concerns itself with the Third Order merely from the viewpoint of statistics it seemed sufficient to follow the table of statistics, given as recently as a year ago, in *The Survey of a Decade*, by Maximus Poppy, O.F.M., and Paul R. Martin, M.A., St. Louis, 1935.

RECAPITULATION

Second and Third Order Regular

Communities of Sisters of the II Order in U. S. and Canada.....	16
Communities of the III Order Regular in U. S. and Canada.....	45
Communities of III Order Priests.....	2
Communities of III Order Brothers.....	2
Communities of III Order Sisters.....	41
Number of II Order Sisters in U. S. and Canada.....	397
Number of III Order Sisters in U. S. and Canada (Professed).....	23,257
(Novices)	1,439

(Postulants)	836
(Aspirants)	642

Sisters of the III Order direct the following Institutions:

Colleges	11
High Schools.....	228
Grammar Schools.....	1,344
Orphanages	58
Homes for the Aged.....	36
Sanitariums	8
Homes for Working Girls.....	20
Domestic Departments	4
Occupational School	1
Vocational School for Disabled Soldiers.....	1
Free Dispensaries.....	2
Convalescent Homes	2
Catechetical Centers	22
Day Nurseries.....	16
Rest Houses	3
Vacation Schools	34
Foreign Missions	15
Colored Missions.....	6
Junior High Schools.....	3
Normal Schools.....	9
Hospitals	166
Nurses' Training Schools.....	66
Academies and Boarding Schools.....	59
Indian Missions	6
Hospices	5
Houses for Lepers	2
Kindergartens	4
Summer Schools.....	7
Conservatories of Music.....	3
School for Deaf.....	1
School for Underprivileged Children.....	1
Vacation Home for Priests.....	1
Homes for Crippled Children.....	2
Houses of Study at Universities.....	3
Shrine	1
Retreat House.....	1

Third Order Secular

Fraternities on record in U. S.....	975
Fraternities on record in Canada.....	20
Total fraternities in U. S. and Canada.....	995
Membership in United States.....	93,961
Total membership U. S. and Canada.....	108,490
Fraternities directed by Franciscans.....	306

Fraternities directed by diocesan Clergy and other Religious.....	689
Establishments in cities and towns.....	621
Represented in dioceses of U. S. and Territories.....	100
Represented in dioceses of Canada.....	10
Established in Cathedral churches.....	22
Established in major seminaries (dioces.).....	8
Established in minor seminaries (various).....	13

DISCUSSION

FR. VINCENT MAYER, O.M.C.:—It may seem almost bordering on the ridiculously obvious to refer to the interest which St. Francis extended to the Poor Ladies of Assisi or Poor Clares, since that interest and influence and guidance were so great that he is considered their Founder,—the Founder of the Second Franciscan Order. The same is true of the part our Seraphic Father played in the guidance of those who became the nucleus of the Third Order. Yet it is exactly that early intensive and continued interest of the Poor Man of Assisi in these institutions in his day which laid the foundation for the unbroken relation of spiritual guidance that has existed down the ages and exists today between the First Order of St. Francis and the Second and Third. The Three Orders are complementary, one of another, and it is but right that the members of the First Order should be deeply interested in the progress, fortunes and activities of the Poor Clares and of the Third Order Regular and Secular.

Father Mark Nolan has given us a highly informative paper, which is by its very character somewhat prosaic in form but undoubtedly represents much solid work. The nature of the paper does not lend itself readily to extensive criticism. The purpose of a statistical survey is, no doubt, to provide the raw material for more detailed historical treatment of the story of the various communities and fraternities listed in this paper.

The record of the Poor Clares in Canada, one Monastery only, seems astonishing, but we have Fr. Mark's assurance that he was unable to unearth further foundations of the II Order in Canada. Again, all his efforts to obtain data concerning Poor Clares, Third Order Regular and Secular in Mexico, failed. The reason, no doubt, being the very distressful conditions prevailing in that unfortunate country.

Although the general treatment of the subject of this paper seems rather more formal than was absolutely necessary, there were nevertheless occasional flashes of very human details connected with the Communities mentioned, which gave insight into the difficulties encountered and overcome by many religious communities in their early days.

Without wishing to be too critical, one might well feel that the Second Part of the Paper, The Third Order Regular, strictly so-called, the Third Order Communities of Men, though small as to numbers, might with advantage have been more fully elaborated. In Part III (The Sisterhoods) it would again have added interest if Fr. Mark had by a few words indicated the chronological sequence followed in tabulating the Communities. However, Fr. Mark deserves credit

A Word of Criticism

for the completeness of his list of Franciscan Sisterhoods in the U. S. A. Possibly further research will lengthen the list of Franciscan Communities of the Third Order Regular in Canada.

The final section indicated in the title of the paper, The Third Order Secular, has been given very meagre attention. Possibly this was inevitable. The Third Order Secular would have filled an entire paper of its own. The Statistics of the Third Order Secular are very evidently taken from *The Survey of a Decade* by Fr. Maximus Poppy and Mr. Paul Martin,—certainly a wise proceeding. There is, however, one omission; no mention is made of the affiliation of Third Order Fraternities to the 9 Tertiary Provinces established in the U. S. A.

Fr. Mark has given us sufficient matter in his Statistical Survey to widen and broaden our interest and increase our laudable pride in the work of the wide flung Franciscan Families of the Second Order and Third Order in America.

The Recapitulation Tables at the end of Fr. Mark's paper provides a very helpful and happy conclusion.

THE FRANCISCAN HISTORIAN AND HISTORY WRITING

FR. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

The topic assigned to me is the Franciscan historian and history writing or the functions and ideals of the Franciscan historian. This paper will be the expression of personal opinion, based on observation, study and reflection. It will be retrospective as well as prospective; the method will be concrete as opposed to the abstract; it will invest principles, plans and projects with the contour of persons, places and things. Above all it will endeavor to throw out suggestions and invite criticism. It desires an airing of opinion on the subject-matter proposed, and should these suggestions meet with approval, it entertains the hope that they will be provocative of action.

It is a very trite thing to say that we are members of an Order which has had and which still has a glorious history extending over seven hundred years and spread over five continents. The words of

Franciscan Kipling: "Oh, East is East and West is West, and
Unity never the twain shall meet,"¹ is not true of Franciscanism. We are international in character and are permeated by a common spirit, the spirit of our Founder, Saint Francis. The habit is known on every spiritual battle front in Christendom. The East and the West have met. What is true of the Orient and the Occident in the broader sense, is also true of these United States. The East and West are gathered here today in mutual conference, and though we are members of different Provinces, our outlook is far from Provincial.

In the light of our glorious history, the question may be appropriately asked: have we done commensurate work in setting forth our history to the world? I say, have *we*? I am not speaking about what others, Catholic and non-Catholic have done for us in this matter. That is only too well known. Have we in the past made provision for the future, in so far, that if we have not had the aptitude or inclination to labor along historical lines, we have at least kept our records complete and in orderly fashion, so that

¹ *The Ballad of East and West.*

the historian of the future might take up his work with hope and confidence?

Before I go further it will be necessary to clear the ground. Unless we are convinced that the American friars need to be aroused to devote more time to the writing of scientific history particularly of Franciscanism in the Americas, this discussion will be of little profit. If we are misinterpreting St. Paul's text: "We have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come,"² as a pretext for our lack of interest in history, then, certainly we are logical if we sit back and await the end of the world at almost any moment. St. Paul's verse is no warrant for neglect in writing history. In fact, it may be pointed out that while the Apostle kept in mind the city to come, he was not forgetful of the city from which he came. With justifiable pride, he said: "I am the citizen of no mean city."³ In plain American, St. Paul helped to put Tarsus on the map.

We are the citizens of no mean city if as true Franciscans we are doing the work of God in whatever city we may happen to be. We are the members of no mean Order, whose flowers of sanctity, lights of learning, and seraphic apostolate are our rich inheritance. Is there any reason heavenly or terrestrial, why in the matter of history we cannot let our light shine before men? If our present good actions are worthy of the public eye, and this with divine approval, is there less reason why our deeds of past years should be less known? Astronomers speak in terms of light years. They cite for example that if a certain star began to throw its light about the time of the battle of Gettysburg, its light would reach the earth only in the twentieth century. There are plenty of Franciscan stars in the firmament which we, neglectful and indifferent astronomers, have not as yet discovered, hence we may not even speak of those stars throwing their light to illumine the world.

Some three hundred years ago, Peter Manero, the Minister General of the Order, made a remark that has become almost an adage in the Franciscan Order. "Inter eximias praerogativas," says the General, "quibus Pater Coelestis luminum hanc insignivit Religionem Minorum eam prae ceteris recognoscimus fere praecipuam, quod nescit publicare quae fecit." Holding in due respect the authority of this pious successor of St. Francis and fully revering the ascetical motive of humility to which he ascribed Franciscan reticence, one is still inclined to believe that it is not so much a desire for

² Hebrews, xiii, 14.

³ Acts, xxi, 39.

self-effacement as a generous amount of neglectfulness that has kept many friars from making known what the Order has done or is doing. And one can venture the statement that the words of the General have served as an only too ready pretext for not even committing to record that which is going on within the Order in its many provinces and numerous houses, which would be so useful for the future historian who received the impulse or commission to write.⁴

Holzapfel in his *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* complains that despite our prolific mission history, there are so many *lacunae* because the friars did not take the trouble to send in complete and annual reports of their work.⁵

Works of the Past We cannot forget, however, that despite the fact that the friars' chief work in America was that of evangelization, the more prominent among them produced important histories, works of ethnology, linguistics and geography, all of which are closely allied to history. In the course of time provincial chronicles were written, memoirs of expeditions and accounts of new mission fields were composed. For this the friars of yore deserve our gratitude. On the other hand, much was neglected or at least would not have been written had not the government asked for reports and accounts, or had not the friars needed money and furnishings, or had they not been embroiled in disputes with the civil and military officials. Overlooking the fact also that much that was written has been destroyed or scattered to the four winds by modern governments which have forgotten the debt they owe to the religious Orders for their social and educational work of past centuries, it can be said that on the whole, our spiritual forbears did remarkably well in the matter of history, and that in the same matter we still lag behind them.

So far what have the American friars done for Franciscan history and what have others done for us? The labors of the early Franciscans in California and the southwest have been made known to us through the scholarly volumes of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt who gave forty years of his life to this great task. Yet it was a private work of his in the beginning and later it received official approval. Suppose Father Zephyrin had not been so enthusiastically motivated? Is it stretching the point too far to

⁴ John Wuest, O.F.M., "House Chronicles," in *The Provincial Chronicle of St. John Baptist Province*, VIII (1936), 48.

⁵ Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), p. 494.

say that in all probability the first complete story of the friars in the West would have been given to us by that industrious school of investigators, the University of California at Berkeley? It is certainly no high tribute to our sense of appreciation of our past, if we are now content to rest on past glory. I believe that Father Zephyrin is *facile princeps* among Franciscan historians in the United States for detailed research in a definite field. His *Missions and Missionaries of California* will ever remain the classic of California's missionary endeavor.

Much material on the California friars has been discovered and edited by that prodigious scholar, Dr. Herbert Bolton of Berkeley. He has edited the diaries of the Franciscans, Crespi, Palóu and Font. It is he who has given the best treatise on the Work of missions in the plan of Hispanic colonial enterprise Dr. Bolton in "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies."⁶ Again his *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* deals with the Franciscan Mission period of that area. The history of the Franciscan missions in New Mexico has been prepared by Dr. Espinosa, a scholar from Berkeley. The *Memorial on New Mexico* by Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1603, was translated and edited by Mrs. Ayer. Just a few years ago the manuscript containing a history of Texas by Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, was discovered in Mexico by Dr. Carlos Castañeda. This was translated and edited in two volumes (with critical notes during the past year) in the *Quivira* series. It was a non-Catholic, Dr. John Tate Lanning, who in his recent work, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, gave us the first documented and comprehensive history of the Franciscans in the southeast. A Mexican doctor of Medicine, again a non-Catholic, Fernando Ocaranza, even during these inimical days of persecution in that country, has recently produced such works as *Capítulos de la historia franciscana*, *Los Franciscanos en Sonora y Ostimuri*, *El imperial colegio de Indios de la Santa Cruz de Santiago de Tlalteloco*, *La Beatificación del Venerable Sebastián de Aparicio* and other works. Dr. Braden has given us his *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico* while Dr. Mecham has provided a volume on *Church and State in Latin America*. These are only a few of the more important examples.

⁶ *American Historical Review*, XXIII (1917), 42-61.

I do not wish to convey the impression that we friars in America have not done anything worth while in history. I wish merely to say that we have not done near enough. Beginnings have been made so that today there is a healthy renaissance of history writing by our friars in these United States. The various writings of Dr. Steck, O.F.M., of the Catholic University, in the form of articles, brochures, lectures and books on Franciscan history are only too well known to be mentioned in detail. Father Marion Habig, O.F.M., of Sacred Heart Province has contributed to our *Franciscan Studies* and to a host of magazines relative to Franciscan history. Father Adelbert Callaghan, O.F.M., during the past year has published his work on the history of the Province of the Holy Name, under the title: *Mediaeval Francis in Modern America*. A detailed history of the *Franciscans in Nebraska* as well as a history of the Third Order in the United States in *The Survey of a Decade*, have come likewise from the pens of friars of the Sacred Heart Province. *The Romance of Lady Poverty* is a history of the Capuchin Province of Saint Joseph. Father Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., has published a history of *The Capuchins in French Louisiana*, while Father Norbert Miller, O.M.Cap., reviewed the labors of the *Pioneer Capuchin Missionaries in the United States*. Fathers John Lenhart, O.M.Cap., and Anscar Zawart, O.M.Cap., have contributed to history in voluminous fashion. Nor can we be unmindful of the labors of our brethren in Canada, especially Fathers Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., and Oderic Jouve, O.F.M., who have unravelled for us the history of the early friars in Canada.

Again it must be said that our Educational Conferences and our series of *Franciscan Studies* have endeavored to make better known the glory of the Order. At the present time there are other encouraging signs of progress, such as the *Chronicles* of the Provinces of the Sacred Heart and of Saint John the Baptist. Our Franciscan magazines, while not always publishing material thoroughly scientific, provide, nevertheless, abundant material for the Franciscan historian of the future. All these are signs that the age of pioneering is past and that we are entering the era of enlightened development.

The collection of material for future history writing is likewise important. Here in Santa Barbara we have documents of the Old Mission period in abundance, as well as hundreds of old books and

art treasures from Spain and Mexico. Here in the West our very monuments vibrate with history. It is important, however, to add constantly to these treasures, by supplementing them with the many excellent works in the Hispanic-American field that are appearing month after month. Holy Name College, in Washington, D. C., belonging to the Province of the Holy Name, is comparatively rich in incunabula, many Franciscan chronicles in Spanish and Portuguese as well as a wide collection of *Franciscana* pertaining to all fields. Other valuable libraries for historical works are those of Mount Saint Sepulchre in Washington and the Franciscan House of Studies, Oldenburg, Indiana. For his professional use, Doctor Steck of the Catholic University has a wide range of works on Hispanic-America. The photostats of the Florida State Historical Society in Washington number about 100,000 pages and deal with Spanish Florida alone. Much of this collection deals with the Franciscans in Spanish Florida. Similarly the Library of Congress in Washington, Bancroft Library in Berkeley, The Huntingdon Library at San Marino, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the University of Texas at Austin contain much of interest to Franciscans in America.

The question next logically arises, what remains to be done? First of all, we need documented and objective histories of most of our modern provinces. The various mission fields still served by the friars deserve special treatment. The missions of California should be continued where the illustrious historian, Father Zephyrin, left off. There ought to be written, separate histories of the Franciscan Indian missions of Arizona, New Mexico, Michigan and Wisconsin. Certain famous missions such as San Xavier del Bac, in Arizona, should be treated in separate volumes. Readable biographies of some of the earlier missionaries, say those of Serra, Crespi, Palóu, Lasuén, Font and Garcés are certainly a *desideratum*. Then, a biography of the historian of the missions *par excellence*, Father Zephyrin, and in time, a life of Archbishop Daeger, of Archbishop Pascal Robinson and of other prominent friars who have shed lustre on the Order ought to be written. I even suggest a Dictionary of Franciscan Biography for these United States for the colonial and national periods. This could be made the standard reference work on Franciscans in the United States and would find a ready sale even outside Franciscan and Catholic circles. It

appears to me that we could do much for the dissemination of Franciscan history by producing readable pamphlets by the hundreds and thousands if necessary or by bringing out a series such as we have in German, *Aus Allen Zonen*, wherein the glories of the Order could be unfolded and made to reach a large number of readers. Another desideratum is a text book of Franciscan history of North America with an eye to its special use by our clerics. In the matter of history, we should keep the midnight oil burning and the printing presses running. If we really set out to do what we know could and should be done, each one of us here would have more to do than we could accomplish in a life-time.

There is one field in particular to which I wish to direct your attention. The idea I am about to present is not a sectional one, though it may appear to be so at first sight. This field is Hispanic America extending from the Río Grande to the Straits of Magellan. Here is one of the richest inheritances we have. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, excluding the vast country of Brazil, we had seventeen full-fledged Provinces in that area. The Antilles, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, La Plata and the Gran Chaco, were our theatres of activity. In 1680 there were over 4,400 Franciscan friars in those provinces engaged in evangelization and education. One of the most flourishing of the Order, that of the Holy Gospel, in Mexico City, counted nearly a thousand friars. We need critical works on the lives and times of great luminaries, and apostles such as Zumárraga, Mendieta, Torquemada, Motolinia, Pedro de Gante, Margil, Sahagún, Saint Francis Solano, Fathers Bolaños and Oré, scholars, missionaries, anthropologists, teachers, heroes and pathfinders all. Who knows anything, for instance, of the two flourishing Provinces we had in Central America? How many even know the names of these Provinces? Many books filled with printed documents concerning the glories of the Order have appeared in Spain, Mexico and South America. Much more lies hidden in archives in Spain and Spanish-America. Even where our brethren have published documentary material relative to Spanish America, what efforts have we made at least to bring this material to the cognizance of the Anglo-Saxon world? It is in Spanish America that our greatest glories lie. In that region are the Franciscan gold mines awaiting willing prospectors. There will be no risk in the undertaking.

The rewards are assured to us before we commence the work, for we know that the wealth is there.

Is it because I am a Californian and that I have been nurtured on Hispanic-American culture that I suggest this field to a group of diversified interests? Not at all. Our lines of thought hitherto have run east and west. The time is long overdue when they should have been running especially south. Our culture, religion, history travelled from east to west and we have been accustomed to think along the same line of travel. Why this new orientation?

The facts are briefly these. We know only too well the rapprochement that has been taking place between these United States and Latin-America along political, economic and cultural lines. We understand the significance of the Monroe Doctrine. We have taken notice of the Pan-American Congresses, and if we have read attentively, we could not fail to note the growing interests in everything Hispanic-American. In educational and governmental circles Pan-Americanism and its concrete expression, the Pan-American Union is highly valued and deeply appreciated. Within the past few decades, our State and private universities have not only instituted courses in Hispanic-American history and culture, but have delved deeply into Spanish documents with the result that hundreds of scholarly and illuminating works have made their appearance. Some of the ablest history professors in this country are engaged almost exclusively in the Hispanic-American field. It is the field of opportunity for the aspiring professor and writer, for it holds out great hopes for distinction and achievement. You cannot touch Hispanic-American history without coming face to face with Catholicism and in very many instances, especially in the colonial period, with throbbing Franciscanism. Few are the books that appear in this field in which the Franciscans in one way or the other are not mentioned, and often, with prominence. How is it then that American Franciscans as a body have held aloof in the past from this rich and fascinating field?

This field is truly our very own. The Spanish language is the least of the difficulties in the way for it is one of the simplest and easiest of tongues. To make headway in this field, it will become

A Field Truly Our Own

necessary for every available friar to become indoctrinated in the language, the literature and the histories of these countries, which our spiritual progenitors helped to bring into being. It

will mean that books will have to be purchased and archives visited. If we hold out much longer the grand opportunity of the ages will have been missed. Do we expect Europeans to write our history for us? Besides what they write is in a foreign tongue and is not easily accessible to the majority of English readers. Now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation, in this regard. It will take money, travel, training, study, patient research and a large personnel. The decades and the centuries are ahead of us. In the past we have developed the unfortunate habit of waking up just before sunset while others have been enjoying the beauties of the day. In the near future I suggest that this Conference devote an annual session to the serious study of Franciscanism in Hispanic-America south of the Rio Grande.

There is another important feature in which we should interest ourselves, and that is, that while we devote ourselves sedulously to the past, we should not let slip anything of the present that may be of value for the future. This phase of the paper

Importance of Faithful Chroniclers will deal with organization and methods. First of all, there ought to be in each Province an official, trained historiographer, disengaged from all other work. If he can have collaborators, all the better.

His purpose would be to gather and publish history concerning the Province, the Order in general, and to aid in unfolding the story of Franciscanism of Hispanic-America. Secondly, the chroniclers appointed in every friary should fulfil their office conscientiously and unceasingly with regard to keeping the records of each house. Individual friars engaged in missionary work, at home or abroad, those occupied in educational and historical work should be encouraged to keep objective diaries, produce monographs on their work, and make yearly reports in a detailed and comprehensive manner. Seraphic youth, especially once they enter the Order should be trained and encouraged along these same lines, so that they will carry out these ideas effectively, once they are placed in a position of responsibility.

For the present these ideas could be developed along provincial lines. In the course of time there might be formed an interprovincial research group such as was advocated by Dr. Steck in 1929. This group could conveniently work in a central place, where the task of editing documents, writing books and monographs, producing reliable and critical translations could be effectively accom-

plished. A scientific historical magazine such as *The Hispanic American Historical Review* or the *Archivo Ibero-Americano* or the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* might be edited by this group of research workers. I realize of course that I am presenting quite a bill of particulars but if we desire to build a house that will be substantial, lasting and worthy to gaze upon, we must have sufficient capital for the foundations.

The matter of our local chroniclers deserves more than passing attention. Much depends on the good-will and conscientiousness of these chroniclers, if the future history writing of the Province is to be more than the expression of inane generalities. Father John Wuest, O.F.M., of the Cincinnati Province, during the past year has written a sane and helpful article on this very matter, from which I do not hesitate to cull with great liberty. In this article entitled: *House-Chroniclers*, the author cites the regulation of his Province in this important matter in the following words: "Chronographi pro singulis domibus et missionibus designati fideliter officio suo fungantur ad tramitem Constitutionum Generalium et Ordinationum Provincialium, et tempore visitationis libros annales A.R.P. Visitatori exhibeant." ⁷

As to the manner of the chronicle, the writer continues: "The style of the chronicle should be plain, objective, and in a narrative form. It should be plain and natural: the chronicler should not make painful efforts for a decorative style and clever remarks. Chronicles, after all, are not intended to be literary showpieces. It should be objective: in other words the chronicle should not be the medium for the writer to give vent to his subjective interpretations. It should record facts only. The chronicler should avoid all personal, subjective remarks and all flattery. Finally the chronicle should be written in a narrative style. It must always be borne in mind that the chronicle is not merely a memorandum book. From short, jumbled jottings the reader in later years will not be able to reconstruct the events." ⁸

So much for the style of the chronicle. What *desiderata* should we look for in the chronicler? "The chronicler must possess a goodly amount of wholesome curiosity, a 'nose for news.' Certainly no one will misconstrue such curiosity if, when matched

⁷ Wuest, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

with diligence, it succeeds in composing a chronicle of rich and interesting contents.

In smaller houses the chronicler can help himself, but in the larger houses he should, perhaps, be a member of the discretorium so that he may be acquainted with all the important proceedings. This information, of course, he must use prudently. If he is not a member of the discretorium, then the superior should inform him after each meeting, or at least occasionally, of all things that deserve to be preserved for record. In all events the superior should show so much interest in the house-chronicle as to inform its writer of all current events of note. Only in this way can some surety be given that nothing essential will be omitted.”⁹

In conclusion, as to the character of chroniclers, I should say that one charged with such an office should be at once the most prudent as well as the most industrious man in the house. If he exercises his offices with a sense of decency and tact, he will receive the respect of all his confrères if on the other hand he is a busy-body and loose of tongue, he will not be trusted around the corner.

“If we prefer to be forgotten completely, we owe it to our confrères to preserve a knowledge of their good deeds and accomplishments for posterity. This is merely a duty of the most fundamental piety. If they are not committed to writing, they might just as well have (never) labored, as far as posterity is concerned.”¹⁰ There is no substitute for documents: no documents, no history, and I might add, no chroniclers, no documents. Chroniclers, documents, history form one indispensable link in passing on knowledge to future generations.

Having considered principles and methods, I shall turn to concrete experiences. In my travels in four Provinces, I have frequently spoken to friars on the need of preserving our history in a more orderly and wholesome manner. Most of the men with whom I spoke were older than myself and in no instance were these ideas assailed or side-tracked but rather they were kindly received and intelligently discussed. Consequently, I have come to the conclusion that even if we have not done so much for our history as we should have, we show at least a healthy disposition of mind toward the work. All that we need is a little more organization and enthusiasm.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

Two years ago the Province of Santa Barbara entered the Chinese Missionary field of Shantung. I met the first group of missionaries before their departure and said to them: "Why not start from the beginning? This year Santa Barbara commences her permanent missionary activity in the Orient. The humble beginnings of today will be the far-flung, flourishing Province in China in the years to come. Why not have records clear from the very start? What the early Spanish friars did for California, the friars of California will in turn accomplish for China. From the day you leave San Francisco, keep an objective diary of interesting and important events year after year, e. g., the development or decline of the missions; descriptions and accounts of the various Christianities; the number and quality of the Christians, their economic and social status; Chinese customs and traditions in your respective localities; relations of the missionaries with those of other provinces and other Orders; relations with government officials and ministers of other religions; accounts of brigandage, famine, flood; accounts of travels, changes of personnel, developments in buildings and general expansions; retreats and gatherings of the clergy; ecclesiastical affairs of whatever nature; all these will throw light on the history and development of the province. Write rather too much than too little. It is too late to gather many details after a span of years. We want them fresh and throbbing, leaping forth, as it were, from the very heart of action itself."

I am proud to say that these things are being done enthusiastically and intelligently. Historically it is interesting to note that these missionaries took along with them for their guidance and inspiration the printed accounts and diaries of the early missionaries of California. The writer understands that Maryknoll makes it obligatory on every missionary to send home yearly such diaries of which I have been speaking. Accounts of the missions are encouraged, moreover, by our *Acta Minorum* which publishes them from time to time in the form of relations.

Again there are so many things happening today in all the Provinces that it is surprising that no official account is made of them. In 1934 we celebrated the sesqui-centenary of the death of Fray Junipero Serra. It was a year when Franciscanism was to the fore throughout the length and breadth of the State. The

California legislature decreed an official Serra Day. A few years prior it had made John Steven McGroarty, official poet laureate of the State. Mr. McGroarty through many years had used his pen nobly in poetry, pageant and essay in heralding forth the beauties of early mission history. Pilgrimages were made to all the California missions, pageants portrayed to the populace the glories of a by-gone day; the name of Serra loomed large in editorials, articles and books; civic and ecclesiastical celebrations were held in his honor. During that very same year official word came from Rome that the cause of Serra could be opened and a Vice-postulator was appointed. Now, would it not have been proper to collect into one volume these references to Serra during his jubilee year and entitle it: *California's Tribute to Serra, 1934*?

Franciscanism has enthroned itself in historic monuments throughout our great southwest. Has anyone ever taken the trouble to gather into one place all the memorial tokens that dot

our southwest so reminiscent of the Franciscan glories of the past. Indeed, you will find accounts here and there in a scattered and incomplete fashion. Does our appreciation of our status and advantages here go no further? These tokens of and tributes to Franciscanism alone would fill a volume. The statue

of Serra stands in Statuary Hall, in Washington, to my mind the most artistic of them all. Happily, the government recorded in detail the history and proceedings of the placing of that statue. But again, that was the government. In California we have statues of Serra in the heart of Los Angeles, in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, and along the beautiful shore of Monterey. Have we complete records of the persons interested in the erection of these statues, of the ceremonies attending their unveiling, their relative artistic value and things of similar nature? At Yuma there is a large and imposing statue of Fr. Garcés. In Mormon Provo, in the State of Utah, is a statue of Fr. Escalante who explored the State in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Then there are other interesting features of Franciscanism here in the west worthy of record. How have the Franciscan missions directly influenced our architecture, our nomenclature, our art, our history writing? There is the San Gabriel Mission Theatre adjoining the Old Mission with its world famous Mission Play; there is the Riverside Mission Inn, a hotel but more

in appearance (with its architecture and chapel) like a modern Franciscan mission; there, again, is the large Escalante Hotel in Ash Fork, Arizona, the Fray Marcos de Niza Hotel at Arizona, the Franciscan in Salinas, California. How many friars in Santa Barbara are able to tell off-hand how many streets alone in this comparatively small city have their origin in Franciscanism? There are at least fourteen such streets. All these facts should be gathered together, and should form a symposium intimately connected with the history of the Order.

There is a revival of mission restoration in these United States as a result of the depression. Mission Purisima at Lompoc, Tumaacori Mission in Arizona, Mission San José in Texas as well as several in Florida are being restored by government funds. The various provinces in which these missions are located should be on the *que vive* in the matter of mission restoration and gather detailed information concerning them that will be a genuine source of history in the future. This year America celebrates the centenary of Texan independence. Again the beautiful old Franciscan missions in that State, which antedate ours of California, form a focal point of interest for thousands of tourists. Whatever serves to bring into relief those Texan missions during this year should be the object of conscientious record.

Again, there are so many noteworthy details that are overlooked by our local chroniclers and superiors. Let us be concrete. In Santa Barbara County the Franciscans have but two establishments: the Old Mission and Saint Anthony's Seminary. But these are merely two centers from which Franciscan influence is radiated.

What of the many places we serve continually or occasionally in a ministerial capacity? Whether we give our services to naval vessels in the harbor or to the tanned laborers in the CCC Camps, it is but fair to future generations in the Order that these activities be recorded. Friars who are chaplains of various religious and civic organizations often have a far-reaching influence on their fellow citizens. Missions, retreats, special diocesan work, should likewise be recorded. Lectures of a religious, literary, scientific, historical, and civic nature deserve being kept for posterity. In most of these details we have failed lamentably in the past. Some of these details might seem puerile to a portion

of my hearers. But from details history is written. Generalities count for nothing in history unless supported by a generous quantity of detail. There is a Spanish proverb which says: *Muchos pocos hacen un mucho* which is equivalent to the Scotch saying: "Many a mickle makes a muckle," or which might be made more American by saying: It is the individual grains of sand on the seashore that really make the strand. No body of material is greater than its component parts. Geometrically expressed, the whole is the sum of its parts.

A final word should be added as to the philosophy behind our history-writing. It is self-evident that our history-writing should be accurate, truthful, objective. *Suppressio veri* is just as worthy of condemnation as *expressio falsi*. Training

Characteristics of Historians will give us the accuracy, and technique we need; the practice of the moral virtues will shape our minds and hearts with a love for truth. There

should be no flag-waving, the bursting of fire-works or the flare of bands in our history writing. Such history carries with it the odious term of propaganda. Let the documents speak for themselves. Credit your readers with at least a modicum of intelligence and good-will. Those of us who have the privilege or the duty of preparing the history of the future, can practise the highest type of spirituality every moment of the day and every day of the year, by unflagging and unceasing devotion to the truth. We must be above parties and personalities. We ought to glory in the finest achievements of the Order but we should have the manly courage to say where the Order was not productive of the worthiest of its ideals. A historian cannot have any of the traits of a politician or a straddler. Such a historian would be despised by members of his craft. Our work should be of such a calibre that it will be recognized as scholarly by those outside the Order and outside the Church. And if it is scholarly, it will be recognized as such. Our work should not be one whit less precise and authentic than the best in existence. It should be of such a nature that outsiders will feel just a trifle unsafe in our presence. As a rule, we have not yet attained to that degree of self-sufficiency in our historical work.

In conclusion I shall use two quotations which I believe are not so generally well-known but which are certainly apropos to this discussion. The first was written by Villagr  after his ex-

pedition into New Mexico with Oñate in 1598. The other was written by that eminent Franciscan historian. Fr. Palóu of California Mission fame.

No greater misfortune could possibly befall a people than to lack a historian properly to set down their annals; one who with faithful zeal will guard, treasure, and perpetuate all those human events which if left to the frail memory of man and to the mercy of the passing years will be sacrificed upon the altars of time.

. . . History not only brings before us those who are absent, but it resurrects and breathes life itself into those long dead; those who still live it endows with immortality itself. Through history those men are heroes whose deeds have been given proper recognition by the historian's pen. Others whose lives are unrecorded, so far as posterity is concerned, did nothing, for of these our annals are silent and we know them not.¹¹

Fr. Palóu in his memoirs of Old California had the following to say. To my mind no Franciscan ever wrote a more direct and unforgettable passage as to the purpose and ideals of a Franciscan historian.

This is a collection of memoirs of Old California, for the time when its missions were administered by the missionaries of the regular Observance of our Seraphic Father of San Fernando de Mexico; and of the missions founded in the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey.

It was written by the least, because the most unworthy of these missionaries. . . . This material labor, which follows trails marked out for me by the apostolic ministry, has no other purpose than to note down whatever has happened and may happen while God gives me life and health to labor in this new vineyard of the Lord, in order that, when the chronicler of our apostolic colleges may ask of San Fernando for reports of its missionary labors, it may have them assembled . . . if some day they should ask for the deeds of the missionaries there may be at hand all the events just as they happened in California, both Old and New, all of which with entire sincerity and truth, I shall set forth in this collection.¹²

Here in the words of Fr. Palóu we have our cue, our ideal, our inspiration. Beautiful in its humility, lucid in its purpose, perfect in its objectivity, it stands without a parallel. Fr. Palóu was a genuine historian. Would that we had more like him!

¹¹ *History of New Mexico by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, Alcalá, 1610*, The Quivira Society Series (Los Angeles, Calif., 1933), p. 35.

¹² H. E. Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M.* (Berkeley, California, 1926), pp. xcv-xevi.

DISCUSSION

FR. MARION HABIG, O.F.M.:—By some history has been identified with the rehearsal of inhuman crimes and human frailties, scandal-stories in other words, similar to the content of so many of our modern newspapers. But

**History,
“Teacher
of Life”**

there is another kind of history, more deserving of the name, which recounts also the worth-while achievements of good and noble-minded men. And where can we find better examples of such history than in the annals of the Order to which we belong? If history is “the teacher of life” (Cicero), and “the most pleasant school of wisdom” (Dryden); if it widens one’s mental horizon, and makes us open-minded and at the same time critical-minded—this, all this is especially true of Franciscan history for us Franciscans. The mistakes of the past will caution us against committing the same blunders in our own day; and past achievements for God and souls should inspire us with a great love of the Order and urge us to continue the good work ourselves.

Fr. Maynard has given us so many excellent and important suggestions that it is difficult to select any particular one for discussion. There are several to which I should like to refer and which I make bold to supplement with my remarks. In contrast to the apparently unfavorable words of the Minister General Peter Manero, there is the pronouncement of another Minister General, the Most Reverend Denis Schuler (Encyclical Letter of March 16, 1910), whose meaning is unmistakable. While he speaks directly only of contemporary history, he certainly dissipates the false notion that it is better to hide our light under a bushel-basket. He writes: “The labors and trials of our missionaries should be divulged, not indeed for the sake of empty renown, but for the purpose of inducing the faithful to pray daily and fervently for the well-being of the Order and its missions, as well as succor us with charitable zeal in our mission needs through a special association (now called Franciscan Missionary Union and approved as such for the whole Order by the Holy See) . . . and thus share in the merits of the missionaries who are laboring for the conversion of the heathens.”

Strictly speaking, we have no choice in the matter of recording our activities. Do not the General Constitutions prescribe that there be General Archives of the Order as well as Provincial and Local Archives, in which the record of noteworthy happenings is to be kept? Do not these same

**Prescriptions
of Constitutions**

Constitutions demand that various reports be sent in at stated times? Does not the General Visitor every third year examine the chronicles of the individual houses that he visits? From the Book of Customs of our own Province I quote: “In each convent and residence the archives are kept in a fire proof safe in which documents and records of any importance are preserved”—and, mentioned in the first place, are the annals of the house.

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the article of Dr. Guilday on “The Writing of Parish Histories” (*Ecclesiastical Review*, September, 1935), which has also appeared in pamphlet form, contains much valuable instruction for the chroniclers of our friaries and in a measure will make up for the lack of professional historical training. In fact, not only the trained historians but all the friars should be interested in the past and contemporary history of the Order. One need not give up other work to be interested in history. One can even write good history without being a specialist and devoting oneself exclusively to the study and writing of history. Some of our Spanish friars, whose daily tasks seemed to exclude all leisure and study, produced some very valuable historical works; and I have in mind two

confrères of our own day who, despite many other duties, accomplished some splendid work in history.

For many of us all that is needed is a good start; and once interest has been aroused, Franciscan history will become a sort of hobby in spare moments. This is particularly true of our student friars. If I may allude to an experience of my own, it was my pleasure to give last summer an experimental summer course on Franciscan history to the philosophy students of our Province; and the interest of these clerics was an inspiration to me. At the end of the course, one of them said to me: "This has been a beginning. A new field has been opened to me, and I intend to continue to study the history of our Order."

Getting a Start

In the Preface to his excellent outline history of Franciscan missions (*Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*), Fr. Leonard Lemmens writes as follows: "In the general histories of the missions, the labors of the Franciscans for the most part are discussed only in a superficial way. While the activities and achievements of the Jesuits are extolled and presented in detail, other workers in the field receive but scant attention. The principal reason for this lies in the fact that the Jesuits have always taken pains—and that with considerable success—to make known the work of their missions, whereas the Franciscans have been less concerned about holding the public's attention." Very true! But there is no reason why this should continue to be the case in the future.

Fr. Maynard has suggested an interprovincial research group and an institute of Franciscan history. On June 11, this year, an Institute of Jesuit History was formally inaugurated at Loyola University, Chicago; and Professor Bolton was present for the occasion, reading a paper in the afternoon session, and presiding over the evening session. There is just as much and even more need of an Institute of Franciscan History; and I am happy to hear that a Franciscan Institute is being organized at the outstanding educational institution of the Franciscans in the United States, St. Bonaventure's College, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

Last year I advocated a Franciscan Review of a general nature which would carry articles on different fields, theology, philosophy, history, the sciences. It was objected that there are excellent reviews which can and will publish articles on Franciscan subjects. However, if we want to give real impetus and guidance to a Franciscan history movement, we shall need an organ, a Franciscan Historical Review. The beginnings may be humble; but once started, could not the numerous Franciscan provinces in this country contribute their share to make it a success? I cherish the fond hope that such a review will be launched in the not distant future.

Another enterprise that seems to me very desirable is the publication of a series of original narratives by Franciscan friars who labored as missionaries in the New World, a collection of Franciscan Relations, similar to the seventy-

Mission

Narratives

three volumes of *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Fr. Maynard has mentioned some English editions of such relations which have appeared under separate auspices. I have just learned that Dr. George Hammond of Albuquerque, N. M., with the assistance of Prof. Agapito Rey, has now very nearly completed an English version of Fr. Arricivita's *Cronica seráfica y apostólica*, and has several other similar projects under way. Before such undertakings progress too far, the series should be launched. There could very well be uniformity of format in the single numbers of the series without any interference with the work of individual translators or even

publishers. And it would soon become apparent that a vast amount of material could be brought together.

Lastly, let me add another "believe-it-or-not" of Franciscan history to the several we have already heard during these sessions. Fr. Maynard mentioned Fr. Luis Bolaños. This great Franciscan missionary who labored for more than half a century among the natives of the Plata basin in South America, was the founder of the famous Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. He it was who founded the first reductions there; and in 1593 he ceded fifteen of them to several Jesuits whom he had invited to join him. Also after the arrival of the Jesuits, he continued to labor as a missionary in Paraguay and to found additional reductions. Just how many he estab-

lished we do not know; Cordova-Salinas says he built twenty-five churches. In 1620, being eighty years old, he finally retired to the Franciscan friary in Buenos Aires; and there, on October 11, 1629, he died a holy death. Enclosed in a precious tomb, his remains rest in the church of San Francisco and his memory is still honored in the largest city of South America.

FR. JOHN B. WUEST, O.F.M.:—In the revival of interest in Franciscan history initiated in the closing decades of the past century American friars played an insignificant part. It was not lack of interest, but lack of men. We were too occupied in doing the things about which future historians will write. Certain chosen friars were given the opportunity to pursue higher studies in the sacred sciences. Their education, however, was strictly utilitarian: to prepare themselves to teach in the houses of study. During all these years history was considered too much a secondary branch to permit the luxury of sending friars to universities in order to devote themselves exclusively to the study of the past.

In late years conditions have taken a more promising turn. Better manned, the Provinces have been able to surrender a few friars for the study of history. It is gradually dawning upon us that, if the American Franciscans are to

Encouragement for Historians

cultivate the vast unexplored field of early and contemporary history, we must have trained men, for historians, ing. Although a bright beginning has been made, the contrary to widespread belief, demand a scientific training. friar historians in America have no easy prospects. There still remains the task of patiently convincing those who are in position to assist them that, if they are to do any serious work, they must be given the means: tools and time.

The tools of the historian are his books. To write authoritatively he must have for use all works published up to his time on the subject, that still preserve their value. He commits a serious infraction against scientific canons if he fails to be fully acquainted with his bibliography. This does not mean, of course, that he must actually possess a complete library, an impossibility in our times of choked presses. Libraries, both public and private that are accessible, must be consulted. Most libraries, however, are poor in material useful to him, and the only thing left is to purchase the needed books.

Unfortunately, the friar historian finds that Franciscalia are rare and expensive. The old written monuments of Franciscan history that are so essential appear but seldom on the market and command a handsome price. In addition, the writer has to contend with the indispensable avalanche of contemporary books and periodicals.

It is evident, then, that he must have generous funds at his disposal. There really should be no objection to spending money for books, for it is hard to

find a better and more lasting investment. Certainly a visit through the libraries of some of our European friaries reveals a superior grasp of this truth than is evidenced by our American friars. And what is important for us to realize is this: many of these European friaries would not have been enabled in recent years to collect their valuable libraries, had it not been for the generosity of the American provinces. They see no difficulties in making outlays for books that the American provinces deny themselves on the grounds of meagre funds or Franciscan poverty. Often, however, our conservatism is a mere lack of appreciation.

A historian will also be obliged to make use of manuscript sources. This is obviously necessary if he is to advance the knowledge of the past. If he has the intention merely to compile what has already been written and repeatedly exploited, then he may just as well stop at the very beginning and thereby save printing material and the unwary purchaser. In order to get the manuscript material, if he cannot obtain photostatic copies, he must go personally to the archives or library where it is preserved. Consequently, the historian must have the financial means to make occasional journeys.

The second requisite for the historian is time to work. No one can appreciate better than he himself the endless time that it takes to produce the most modest piece of work, definitive and of permanent value. His material must be garnered from numberless sources often at great distances. After his researches comes the task of putting the material into readable form, work that requires concentration and freedom from distractions. He needs time. He cannot, therefore, be loaded down with too much work in the parishes or in the class room and be expected to produce voluminously. There are few Luke Waddings who can spend the quiet hours of the night and early morning in composing *Annales* after a busy day of work unallied to history.

If, therefore, the American friars are to reach their true objective in the field of history—scientific, comprehensive work—they must have the means: books, opportunities to travel, time to work, freedom from distracting sidelines.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Committee on Resolutions of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference respectfully submits the following resolutions:

1. To His Holiness Pope Pius XI, gloriously reigning, the oldest Tertiary and Lover of History, the Conference pledges its obedience, love and loyalty.

2. To the members of the College of Cardinals and of the Hierarchy, the Conference votes its sincerest thanks and gratitude for letters of appreciation.

3. To the Most Rev. John J. Cantwell, Archbishop of Los Angeles, the Conference expresses its heartfelt gratitude and appreciation for his kind letter of greeting and best wishes on the occasion of its Eighteenth Annual Meeting.

4. To the Most Rev. Ministers General of the three branches of the First Order of St. Francis, the Conference pledges filial obedience, deep reverence and sincere gratitude for their continued goodwill towards the work of the Conference.

5. To the Most Rev. Bede Hess, Minister General of the Friars Minor Conventual, the Conference tenders its most respectful felicitations on his elevation to the dignity of Successor of St. Francis in the ruling of the Conventual Friars. The Conference recalls with deep gratitude all that Father General has done to encourage the work of the Conference.

6. To the Very Rev. Ministers Provincial and Commissaries, whose friars are affiliated with the Conference, we render our heartfelt thanks for their encouraging attitude toward all that pertains to the Conference.

7. To the Very Rev. Novatus Benzing, O.F.M., Minister Provincial of the Province of Santa Barbara; to the Very Rev. Turibius Deaver, O.F.M., and the Very Rev. Ferdinand Ortiz, O.F.M., Guardians of the Friaries at Santa Barbara, as well as to the Rev. Louis Schön, O.F.M., Rector of St. Anthony's Seminary, and to all the local friars, the Conference promises to pay its debt of gratitude for their generous hospitality with a memento at the Altar.

8. To the Honorable Mr. E. O. Hanson, Mayor of Santa Barbara, for his kind letter of welcome and interest in our work, the Conference acknowledges its debt of gratitude.

9. Since the Franciscan Educational Conference devoted its Eighteenth Meeting to the study of Franciscan American history; and since the late Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., in his many volumes on the old Franciscan Missions has made an outstanding contribution to this subject, the Conference wishes to honor his memory with a tender and devoted tribute of fraternal appreciation and gratitude.

10. To Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, Professor of History at the University of California, whose painstaking researches in the field of history portray so eloquently and truthfully the soul of the Franciscan Mission Movement in America, the Conference expresses esteem and admiration.

11. The Conference, remembering that December 4, 1936 marks the Sesqui-centennial of the Santa Barbara Mission, honors the memory of the Padres

of old who founded this Mission; it also pays its respects to the friars of more recent times who reestablished the Mission and felicitates those privileged to live here today.

12. On the occasion of the Texas Centennial the Conference bows in respect to the memory of the friars who labored there and particularly to the nine friar martyrs of this State. The Conference also thanks the Rev. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., of St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas, head of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, for his interest in the Franciscan Missions of Texas.

13. Mindful that the four hundredth anniversary of Fra Marcos de Niza's entrance into Arizona is at hand, the Conference desires to honor his memory and also to thank His Excellency, Benjamin Moeur, Governor of Arizona, as well as the State Legislature, and the esteemed Faculty of the University of Arizona, for their efforts to commemorate fittingly this historic event.

14. Since no less than one hundred and fifteen of our confrères have sacrificed their lives in martyrdom on North American soil—sixty-nine of these heroes dying within the confines of these United States—the Conference reveres their memory and voices its prayer that, God willing, at least some of these martyrs may be raised to the honor of the altar. The Conference recommends the publication of their biographies so that their memory may be kept alive with the American people.

15. Deeply touched by the realization that Fra José Perez, O.F.M., one-time cleric of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, where he was also ordained priest, through the mercy of God was found worthy to receive the magnificent crown of martyrdom by being choked and stabbed in Celaya, Guanajuato, Mexico, on June 1, 1928, the Conference pays tribute to his heroism and presents him as a shining example of faith and fortitude both to our clerics and to all the friars.

16. It is the earnest request of the Conference that the various Provincial Superiors insert into the Necrologies of their Provinces the names of such friars who in times past have labored within their Provinces, and that this be done particularly apropos the martyrs.

17. The Conference recommends that every Province print at stated intervals a chronicle of the principal events of the various houses.

18. Since a *Review* treating of Franciscan American history seems desirable in many quarters, the Conference urgently recommends to the charity, prudence and scholarship of the respective Provinces the launching of such a *Review*.

19. Desirous of acquainting our clerics with the glories of our Order in America, and realizing at the same time the crowded curriculum in our seminaries, the Conference recommends the establishment of a summer school of Franciscan American history which the clerics will be obliged to attend once in the course of their studies.

20. The Conference asks that the process of Beatification be continued for Padre Junipero Serra, Fr. Magin Catalá and the Ven. Antonio Margil; and being assembled here in the land where Padre Serra labored, it salutes the great Friar as the Founder and Father of the Franciscan Missions of California and pays him its profoundest esteem and homage.

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